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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES MIDDLE EAST ISSUES

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 22-28 Aug 86 pp 30-31

[Interview with Wu Xueqian, PRC Foreign Minister, by George Bashir: "Our Wish Was to Achieve Solidarity Among Arabs"; in Beijing, date not specified]

[Text] Visitors to Beijing nowadays get a clear first-hand feeling that the Chinese official, political, and economic machine is turning its full attention to consolidating an open-door policy in all fields and to shutting the doors of the closed policy instituted by the leaders of the past political school. Moreover, the internal operations room is carefully watching open-door policy ramifications the world over, particularly in "friendly" countries, namely, the Warsaw Pact countries led by the Soviet Union and those countries that used to be viewed as "enemies." Furthermore, it is appraising the results of the open-door policy at the domestic level and in popular circles in particular.

The Soviets know that Chinese technological assistance in the satellite field has doubled U.S. technological capabilities in this field following fateful difficulties this technology faced last year. Nonetheless, relations between Beijing and Moscow are extremely sensitive these days and are confined to protocol and economic fields. Neither of the two ruling parties deals with the other the way leaders of the same party are supposed to deal with one another. Each has its own view of local, regional, and international affairs, and international problems in particular. Solutions to such problems are governed by the interests of the two superpowers in the communist world. For just as Moscow carefully appraises Chinese officials' steps toward Washington and vice-versa, Beijing in turn carefully appraises most of the Soviet capital's steps in this direction. Appraisal is made in the course of what happened in the summit meeting between the American and Soviet leaders, Michael Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, in Geneva and the resulting agreements during and after the meeting on the two giants' relations, interests, world problems, and spheres of influence and on possible agreements in this domain in the second summit meeting to be held before the end of this year. The important thing is that no agreement be concluded at the expense of China which views itself as the number-three giant in this world and the upcoming leader of this world at the end of the nineties and beyond that.

When visitors to China discuss with senior Chinese officials international matters and China's relations with Moscow and Washington, they realize that, reservations notwithstanding, the observed policy of open-door and rapprochement is not reflected in Washington's position on Taiwan because the American capital insists on regarding it as the "American aircraft carrier in the China Sea," in the opinion of the Chinese government at least. Likewise, the Beijing government blames Washington for its stance on problems in Vietnam and continued intervention in Korea and raises more than one question on international relations horizons about Moscow's and Washington's credibility and their genuine desire to follow a sincere policy to bring about disarmament and a stop to the nuclear race through summit meetings.

Regarding the Middle East problems and the Palestinian issue, visitors to China notice that Chinese officials have adopted a political position that constituted a qualitative step, indeed a strategic one, with respect to this problem, especially since it supports every endeavor aimed at finding a solution to the Middle East problem that safeguards the survival and territorial safety of all countries in the region and the Palestinians' right to a country and a homeland in particular. They have declared their support for an international conference under UN auspices to be attended by the parties to the conflict in an effort to reach such a solution. Such a conference requires painstaking preparations so that it will not be used as a forum for trading accusations or for promoting this or that international party.

With regard to the war in Lebanon, Chinese officials take a deep penetrating view of the situation in Lebanon. They regard the existence of Lebanon as a safe, fully sovereign, free, democratic, and independent state free of foreign intervention by any regional or international side, and as a necessary matter and an international and regional interest. They believe that countries and capitals that have benefitted from the war in Lebanon or tried to replace Lebanon and steal its political, economic, intellectual, and commercial role failed to realize its dreams despite all the tragedies, destruction, and ruin brought upon Lebanon and its capital. Senior Chinese officials informed the first Lebanese delegate to visit them, Ambassador and Foreign Ministry Secretary General Fu'ad al-Turk, of this viewpoint regarding the situation in Lebanon, alluding to a diplomatic and political initiative they are undertaking with great and small powers at the regional and international levels to explain these facts and to apprise them of their view that Lebanon's survival as an independent, sovereign, and free state is an international necessity that precludes occupation of its land, intervention in its affairs, or tinkering with its destiny. The country of a billion inhabitants is moving slowly but surely after it has emerged from its shell, holding the threads of international problems and international presence with the precision of "acupuncture," relying on open-door policy, patience, farsightedness, and production development.

At the foreign ministry headquarters in Beijing, AL-HAWADITH had the following interview with Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian which centered naturally around international relations, open-door policy, relations with Moscow and Washington, the Middle East problem, and the war in Lebanon.

[Question] How do you evaluate the situation in the Middle East through relations with Arab countries?

[Answer] As you know, we have good relations with the Arab countries, including the PLO. Our view of the situation in this area of the world is based on Israel's persistence in following an aggressive policy toward the Arab countries and peoples and its obdurate occupation of large parts of Arab territory through unacceptable aggression, backed in this by the United States. However, we hope and are seeking to achieve in return solidarity in positions among various Arab governments and countries toward this problem equal to the problem and the size of the ongoing aggression. Unfortunately, however, with every passing day we see fragmentation, fracture, and division in the Arab position which is totally incompatible with the requirements of the desired confrontation with this ongoing aggression by Israel. The Arab countries are required to speak in Israel's face as one voice and to adopt a single position and agree on a common denominator. If the Arab position was unified as we wish it to be, the Arabs would have been able to avert many problems, in the forefront of which are ongoing Israeli aggression and the war in Lebanon.

[Question] There are several draft solutions to the Middle East crisis, including the convocation of an international conference.

[Answer] We emphasize peaceful negotiations in the interest of a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem. During my last visit to the region, many friends proposed to me the idea of holding an international conference and I immediately expressed China's support of such a proposal. The important thing, however, is that wise and meticulous preparations be made for such a conference to avoid haphazardness and offhanded results and to guard against using it as a framework and a forum for trading accusations and a front for posturing and propaganda. A conference of this sort and caliber has to yield numerous and significant results that can bring peace, stability, and good will to the people of the region. It must not be used as a forum for propaganda for any of the parties. China's position on this is clear. We always call for a reasonable and just solution and oppose all steps inconsistent with such a solution.

[Question] With regard to the war in the Gulf between Iran and Iraq, where does China stand?

[Answer] The beneficiary in this war is Israel and the loser is the Iraqi and Iranian people.

[Question] But some say that China is providing both sides with weapons?

[Answer] This is deceptive and untrue. China maintains good diplomatic relations with both countries. We feel that this long war has been going on for 6 years without results. We are worried about this fact and have made endeavors with both parties to bring an end to this war that is destroying their capabilities and existence, but it is a never-ending war. We have and still are strongly supporting regional and international endeavors to end this war, but unfortunately these endeavors have not yielded the desired results.

From our perspective, both parties' commitment to end the war unconditionally is a duty and an urgent necessity for their peace as well as for regional and international stability. This is a principle in Chinese policy that will not be compromised and which we hope to realize without hesitation.

[Question] Some disruption has been noticed in American-Chinese relations. Does this have anything to do with the rapprochement between Moscow and Beijing?

[Answer] First of all, China's relations with the United States are stable at present, but the Taiwan issue and the American position on it are still considered the distinguishing mark or the stumbling block for any positive and rapid development in relations between the two countries. So long as Washington is determined to view Taiwan as an American aircraft carrier and a 5th fleet in the Far East, negative climates will continue to prevail over relations between the two countries.

Here I must deny that Moscow has had any hand in this because our relations with the United States or any other country are not influenced by our relations with the Soviet Union or any other country.

[Question] But your relations with the Soviet Union are not close. At the party level, for example, exchange is still confined to traditional visits.

[Answer] It must be pointed out that Soviet-Chinese relations have witnessed considerable development in recent years at the economic and commercial levels and in the exchange of visits as well. The Soviet Union still refuses to discuss the three obstacles impeding any kind of significant positive development or progress in relations between the two countries. However, ongoing official visits between the two countries may be considered a remarkable development!

[Question] It is noted that Soviet-American relations continue to develop, especially following the first Geneva summit between Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev and the second possible one between the two leaders before the end of the year. Does not China fear that the two countries may come to an agreement at its expense?

[Answer] No, not at all. We are here and do not oppose any international rapprochement in the interest of world peace. So long as we are working for world peace, how can any international agreement be at our expense?!

[Question] But how do you assess the outcome of the first American-Soviet summit and can it establish solutions to international problems apart from other countries?

[Answer] The first Geneva meeting between the two presidents, Gorbachev and Reagan, arrived at an initial communique declaring the two countries' readiness to hold a second meeting. Should a second meeting be held, we hope it will reach an agreement on the most important international issues, namely, the intrinsic issues and particularly the question of disarmament, the arms race, and the so-called Star Wars. Any agreement of this sort between the two

is bound to contribute to the realization of peaceful progress in the world. The important thing in our opinion is that the two parties must have a genuine intention to reach such an agreement. Sincere intentions by both sides are a prerequisite for reaching an agreement on any intrinsic question that guarantees world peace.

[Question] You have informed Lebanon that China will undertake international contacts to back efforts aimed at helping Lebanon regain its existence, role, security, and independence. How are you translating such intentions and endeavors?

[Answer] We look at Lebanon as a 6,000-year old civilization which is the age of Chinese civilization as well. The difference between the two countries is geographic and from the standpoint of area and population as well. Everyone is aware of the tremendous difference between the area of China and that of Lebanon and the population of China and Lebanon's population. However, we do not look at peoples and countries from this point of view, i.e., size and area. Lebanon, in our view, is much bigger than its area. It is as big as its civilization which is as old as the Chinese civilization. The ability of its people exceeds the size of its population and is demonstrated all over the world through vitality, productivity, creativity, and innovation. Lebanon's existence in our view is a regional and international necessity. By this I mean Lebanon's existence as a totally independent state with sovereignty over all its territory, and Lebanon as a free, democratic state because it is an international and a cultural necessity. We are patiently waiting for Lebanese efforts and international endeavors to succeed in putting a stop to violence and destruction and to establish peace, security, and stability so that Lebanon may regain its role and vitality in the international domain. We have apprised everyone of China's position calling for full and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Moreover, various other sides must respect Lebanon's independence and full sovereignty over its territory and we will underscore this position once again at all levels.

Our talk with the Chinese foreign minister could have gone on indefinitely, but the minister of the great power, his many duties notwithstanding, made time to receive AL-HAWADITH in his office in Beijing to give this interview.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## HOVERCRAFT PERSONNEL EXPRESS DISCONTENT

## Letter to the Editor

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 30 Jun 86 p 1

[Letter from 128 hovercraft scientists and technicians: "Developing Hovercraft Technology Requires Respect for the Laws of Science"]

[Text] Editor: The article "Why Do Hovercraft Engineers Wish To Leave?" published on 23 June in this paper won the attention of all quarters in society on the development of the hovercraft and the plight of the seventh research office scientists and technicians. One hundred twenty-eight scientists and technicians of the Seventh Office wrote a letter to this paper to express their hopes and desires. Their letter is excerpted here.

Comrade Editor:

Your article has produced a strong reaponse in our office. Everyone feels that it portrays the present state of our office, reveals the failure to accord the proper respect due to intellectuals--the key issue--and expresses our demand for observance of the laws of science and our urgent desire to return to Institute 708 and expedite the development of hovercraft technology.

Under the leadership of Institute 708, our office has developed from the initial research group in the sixties to the present specialization mechanism of a preliminary scale, and our basic theoretical and applied research has reached a certain depth. We should cherish the excellent situation in the development of hovercraft, respect objective laws, steadily pursue research work, and expand the role of hovercraft, a new type of boat of unique superiority, in a modern society with increasingly rapid rhythm. However, due to certain reasons, the scientific and technical personnel's rational suggestions have not been accepted and the development of hovercraft technology has been affected. Recently, just when we were working hard to change this fluctuating situation, the pertinent leading department, without consulting the vast number of scientists and technicians of the Seventh Office, made a decision on 1 February this year to transfer the office from Institute 708. We are deeply concerned. Hovercraft technology is a complex synthetic technology requiring the solution of technical problems and all kinds of auxiliary and technical support. Institute 708 is a scientific research unit with complete research strengths and superior equipment and experimental conditions. If we are

severed from this base, how can we improve the level of China's hovercraft technology?

How to make China's hovercraft research break out of the fluctuating situation in recent years has been an issue of constant concern to our comrades in the Seventh Office. We feel that in terms of the developmental strategy, we should follow the principle of steadiness, draw back, and concentrate forces for a decisive battle. To develop hovercraft technology, we should first focus on solving the key technical problems. Meanwhile, we should change the spreading out of research on the dozen or more models and concentrate on the solution of the common problems of a few models. In the system, the Seventh Office should be returned to the leadership of Institute 708, which will exercise unified management of its personnel, technology, operation, and finances. Meanwhile, we should strengthen its lateral links with other research units, shipyards, and users. The craft should be produced at fixed locations, gradually progressing to commissioning specialized plants to perform production tasks. As its production is not very profitable, or even unprofitable, the state should follow the policy of rendering aid.

All the cadres and people of the Seventh Office feel that, to avoid loss to the party and the people, we should end as soon as possible the present situation of paralysis, resume the normal order of scientific research, earnestly consolidate, organize the solution of key technical problems, and fully develop the intelligence and wisdom of the entire staff. The production of hovercraft is very promising. We are eager to render service to the motherland and wish to devote all our effort to the flight of the hovercraft on China's waters. We hope that the leading department can understand our feelings, make decisions on an early date compatible with our desires and the developmental laws of scientific research, and lead us to propel hovercraft research to a new height.

One hundred twenty-eight scientists and technicians of the Seventh Office

#### Discontent Analyzed

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 23 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Xin Guangqi [6580 0342 3825]: "Why Do Hovercraft Engineers Wish To Leave?"]

[Text] In a research office of 100-plus people, over 50 of them applied for transfer. It occurred recently in the Seventh Research Office of Institute 708. The Seventh Office is the cradle of China's hovercraft research and the arena where Shanghai's outstanding CPC member Hua Yi [5478 1837] once served while living. Here, together with her comrades-in-arms, she dedicated herself to China's hovercraft, exerting a relentless effort. Today, why do its engineers wish to leave?

In March 1985, the Shanghai-Nantong hovercraft line formally opened. It was China's first coastal hovercraft line. Undoubtedly it added wings to Nantong, a city known as the "little economic tiger." Both its government and its

people were joyous, but some hovercraft designers were full of misgivings. They knew that there was still a gap between China's hovercraft research and its practical application. They voiced their concern and suggested that attention be focused on several models and the key technical problems. Not only did they vigorously express their opinions, but veteran engineers Zheng Nan [6774 2809] and Zhao Wansui [6392 8001 4840] submitted written reports to pertinent national and municipal departments.

Many researchers proposed the following: The "Shenxiang" was an experimental craft manufactured over a decade ago. Its performance was poor, and corrosion of its outer shell had penetrated more than 50 percent of the thickness of the steel plates. Though the "Jinxiang" was a new craft, it was not designed for this line and was not well suited to these waters. In spite of the scientific bases, their views were ignored.

Eventually, the two craft successively broke down and were towed to the dock for repairs. Nantong was forced to demand a suspension of the contract. Over 100,000 yuan were spent. When their designers who had toiled so painstakingly saw the plight of the once swift craft, their eyes grew moist. Engineer Liu Debin [0491 1795 2430] declared: "I took part in designing several side-wall models, but after manufacture I could not even get to see them travel. It was a waste of energy. The labor was in vain!" Indeed, scientists and technicians racked their brains on the project, and their only desire was to see the craft fly. Nevertheless, their feelings were not understood, nor were their opinions and suggestions respected.

As early as in 1982, the pertinent department of the state demanded the design and manufacture of the largest domestic practical all-surface model within a year. During technological demonstrations, most scientists and technicians felt that conditions were not yet ripe because of a shortage of time, technical difficulties, the fact that the main engine was not yet finalized, and eight key technical issues in design and manufacture required special studies. No serious attention was given to their correct opinion, and a major project costing up to 10 million yuan was hastily launched. Today, 4 years have passed, and the craft is still under construction, with heaps of technical problems requiring large sums of additional investment. Even when manufactured, one cannot be optimistic about its performance and reliability.

Objectively speaking, China started hovercraft research fairly early, the personnel quality was high, and the work attained a fairly high level. After inspecting the Seventh Office, renowned international authorities made a relatively high assessment of its theoretical and applied research. However, a series of mistakes in strategy and tactics caused setbacks time and again to the practical exploration, and the value of the researchers' mental labor was not realized. How could they not feel discouraged? Engineer Zheng Rentao [6774 0088 3447], chief of the First All-surface Section, declared emotionally: "I joined the field upon graduation from college. Now my hair has turned white, but I have not produced a truly usable craft. I am too ashamed to face the state and my children!"

Researchers in the office expressed their indignation: "The party Central Committee has time and again urged respect for knowledge and intellectuals, yet precisely in a unit where intellectuals are concentrated, they have not received the proper respect, nor just recognition of the fruits of their mental labor."

Deng Guisen [6772 2710 2773], a 1964 college graduate, served as director (assistant supervisory engineer) of the project on the then largest domestic hovercraft. A key man in the office, he was responsible and energetic in his work. Nevertheless, his post as assistant general designer of the practical model was in name only. He was asked to make a general report at the discussion meeting, yet not permitted to see the eight documents and drawings on the turbine; he was given the responsibility to coordinate the project, yet not shown the drawing of the engine room layout prior to examination and approval; nominally he was in charge of the overall design, yet had no authority to handle many of the technical problems.

Full of enthusiasm, Deng Guisen successively made more than 100 written suggestions on relevant technical problems, but no attention was given them. Finally, he had no alternative but to quit. Other scientists and technicians, including senior engineer Wang Zhigong [3769 1807 0501], Yu Zhongde [0205 1813 1795], known as an "authority on air cushion theory," Jiang Guoliang [3068 0948 2733], chief designer of China's first side-wall model hovercraft, and Zhao Wansui, chief of the structure section--all mainstays of China's hovercraft research--successively left the Seventh Office. Deng Guisen was said to be "crazy"; Wang Zhigong was considered "stubborn".... Perhaps they all have their particular shortcomings or weaknesses. However, they have one thing in common: their total absorption in their work and a fairly high professional level. Is it not the strongest foundation of trust and cooperation?

Recently, without consulting the scientists and technicians in advance, the pertinent leading department decided to change the system of the Seventh Office. Starting from the desire for the sound progress of the hovercraft project, the overwhelming majority in the office submitted a joint petition to the pertinent department. Their consensus was: when the hovercraft project urgently needs to solve the technical problems, severing the Seventh Office from the research institute with its complete research facilities and superior equipment and experimental conditions and transferring it to a development corporation with no technical strengths, the plant entity and experimental base are unfavorable to the improvement of China's hovercraft technology. Moreover, serious flaws in the system are found in the change. Today, the research work of the Seventh Office is on the verge of paralysis.

It is easy to see that the reasons for the situation are complex, and the centrifugal sentiments of the scientists and technicians are not the result of "1 day's chill." The leading department's inaccurate assessment of the development of the project, the subjectivity of certain decisions, the jealousy of certain individual leaders deeming themselves experts, and the resulting situation of "Li Bai attacking Du Fu" (intellectual cadres oppressing intellectuals) have all affected and suppressed the enthusiasm of the personnel. The situation found in the Seventh Office again reminds one of an issue that calls for serious attention: to develop China's science and

technology, we must respect knowledge, intellectuals, and their real expertise and deep insight.

Editorial postscript: the party Central Committee has time and again stressed "respect for knowledge and talents." Though producing a tremendous influence and impact in the practice of reform and construction, this strategic thinking still encounters resistance and interference of all kinds. The dispatch published today tells us that some departments and units ignore the rational suggestions of scientists and technicians, give no proper attention to their assiduous labor, make no just assessment of their scientific opinions, and fail to respect their independence in research. On the other hand, failing to recognize the dedication, zeal, and perseverance of the research personnel and seizing upon some shortcomings and issues of work style, some leaders flagrantly criticize them, damaging their enthusiasm and creativity. This abnormal situation should receive general attention. Intellectual resources are found among experts in all fields and among the laboring people with intelligence, wisdom, and rich knowledge. If we fail to activate fully the enthusiasm of the vast number of scientists and technicians, respect for knowledge and talents is merely an empty phrase. In terms of units where this situation is found, higher authorities should go to the basic level and earnestly render help and make corrections.

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CSO: 4005/851

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## YANG YICHEN REVIEWS CRACKDOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIME

Beijing FAZHI JIANSHE [LAW AND ORDER] in Chinese No 2, 15 Apr 86 pp 5-10

[Article by Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591], procurator-general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate: "Continue the Fight Against Serious Economic Crime; Sum Up Experience and Advance on the Crest of Victory"]

[Text] In 1985, with the restructuring of China's economic system in full swing, new achievements were made in the building of both a socialist material civilization and a socialist spiritual civilization. Procuratorial organs at all levels throughout the nation intensified procuratorial work against economic criminal activities, the fight to crackdown on serious economic crime made new progress, and remarkable successes were achieved.

I. The "Wait-and-see," "No-can-do," Wavering and Helpless Attitude Toward Serious Economic Crime Has Already Been Reversed; A Mounting Offensive, Breakthroughs in Large and Serious Cases, and a Wave of Successive New Prospects Have Emerged.

During a period prior to 1985 when procuratorial organs in numerous localities were cracking down on economic criminal activities, there existed an attitude of "prosecute corruption cases vigorously, wait-and-see on bribery cases, and no-can-do for speculation and profiteering cases." These three phrases reflect the difficult circumstances surrounding the handling of criminal cases at the time. The handling of large cases was difficult, as was the handling of small cases; placing a case on file for investigation was difficult, as was processing it according to the law. And in some cases, after the judicial organs completed their handling of the cases, there remained some people who claimed unfairness on the part of the criminal elements and remained determined to have them rehabilitated. Some people even praised bribe-takers and swindlers, dubbing them "pioneers" and "vanguards of reform." This caused a number of procuratorial cadre to shrink away from impartially executing the law, fear future reversals of a verdict, and commit errors themselves. In investigating and handling cases involving economic crimes, many procuratorial organs fell into a wavering and helpless state.

It was under these circumstances that we dealt with two controversial cases which affected the entire nation. We coordinated closely with the departments concerned, conducted investigative research, persevered in using the facts as a basis and the law as criteria, followed through to the end and got to the

bottom of things. One of these cases entailed the corruption and bribery case of Sun Yonggen [1327 3057 2704], former deputy director of the management committee for the Xinqiao Commune and concurrent party branch secretary of the Xinqiao Woollen Mill in Jiangyin County, Jiangsu Province. This was a case in which the facts were clear, the evidence conclusive, the findings accurate, and the measurement of penalty appropriate. Although this case should have been indisputable, there were still some people who published articles in newspapers and periodicals (dubbing them the six "B" cases), and sought to launch a nationwide discussion in the newspapers over the "rehabilitation of the brave reformer, Sun Yonggen." The other case entailed the bribery case of Wang Yi [3769 8381], an engineer with the Heilongjiang Province Center for Building Conditions. This also was a comparatively clear-cut case. However, some people confused the crackdown on economic crime with the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals, branded Wangyi's crime as a crackdown on the intelligentsia, and sought to rehabilitate him, thus temporarily throwing the matter into chaos. After we thoroughly investigated and handled these two cases, we achieved a breakthrough which gave strong impetus to the continuation of the procuratorial organs' fight to crackdown on serious economic crime.

From the latter half of 1984 to the first half of 1985, unhealthy tendencies concealed economic crime, economic crime made use of unhealthy tendencies, and serious economic crime was particularly glaring. At the same time, the fight to crackdown on serious criminal offenses had already achieved remarkable successes, public security had taken a clear turn for the better, and the full energies of our procuratorial organs had been turned toward the crackdown on economic crime. In June of 1985, we called upon procuratorial organs to make the crackdown on serious economic crime their primary task in carrying out an unrelenting crackdown on crime in general. Following the CPC Central Committee's decision to rectify new unhealthy tendencies, CPC committees at all levels bolstered their leadership role in the crackdown on economic crime while various financial management departments conducted major finance, tax revenue, and price inspections and acted to clean up and straighten out corporations. We acted quickly to seize this rich opportunity, issued notices on several occasions, and required procuratorial organs at all levels and under the unified leadership and organization of local CPC committees to closely coordinate major finance, tax revenue, and price inspections and the work to clean up and straighten out corporations, detect leads to cases, and investigate and deal with economic crimes. At the same time, we also emphasized the handling of large and serious cases in Guangdong, Gujian, Hebei, Henan, and so forth, and dispatched work groups or liaison groups to those places to confer in and guide the handling of cases. In this manner, we led procuratorial organs throughout the country in their work to handle these cases. Many of the major cases of the "wait-and-see," "no-can-do" variety which existed at the time were cracked one after another.

Over the past year, major changes have occurred in the situation surrounding the procuratorial organs' national crackdown on serious economic crime. The year 1985 saw the greatest 1-year total of economic crime cases investigated and handled in the recent past. During the latter half of the year in particular

progress became even faster as the number of cases placed on file increased significantly and included twice as many large and serious cases. According to statistics, between January and November 1985, procuratorial organs throughout the country filed and investigated a total of 26,772 economic crime cases, which represents a 24.7 percent increase over the same period of the preceding year. This figure included a total of 5,937 large and serious cases, a more than twofold increase over the same period of the preceding year. The number of economic criminal elements arrested totaled 14,229 people, while the number of those indicted totaled 12,711 people. The amount of economic losses recovered for the state exceeded 140 million yuan.

The "wait-and-see," "no-can-do" attitude is gone now, replaced by the initiative to attack these cases and the courage to investigate and handle them. The notion that no case can be handled has been replaced by the notion that there are cases that have yet to be handled. The morale of the numerous procuratorial cadres is high and enthusiasm is abundant. Favorable trends are developing continuously and breakthroughs are coming one after another. The record shows that our procuratorial organs have given priority to the work to crackdown on economic crime, making it the primary task of the times in accordance with the CPC Central Committee's guiding ideology, the requirements of the reform and of the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy, and the mission and duties the law has entrusted the procuratorial organs with.

## II. Key Experiences of The Past Year

1. Continuously heighten the awareness of the importance and urgency attached to the crackdown on economic crime, and make the crackdown on economic crime the primary mission of our procuratorial organs. In 1985, following the issuance by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council of "The Decision Concerning the Crackdown on Serious Crimes in the Economic Sphere," procuratorial organs in various localities became actively involved, investigating and handling a group of economic crime cases. In August 1983, after the fight to strictly crackdown on serious criminal offenses began, we put forward the requirement to "read a classic and sing an opera," thus making an all-out effort to join in the fight to crackdown on crime. This was a necessary action due to the abnormal state of public security at the time and the fact that the masses did not feel safe. From the latter half of 1984 forward, new unhealthy tendencies appeared and economic crime became rampant. In January 1985, we called upon procuratorial organs to simultaneously pursue the crackdown on crime in general and the crackdown on economic crime, requiring them to give priority to the crackdown on economic crime in special economic zones and in areas where economic crime was rampant. Keeping pace with the developing situation, we called upon procuratorial organs again in June to make the crackdown on economic crime their primary task in the unrelenting crackdown on crime in general. We particularly emphasized doing away with the two "opposing views" and correctly handling two relationships: the first entails eliminating the opposing views arising over the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy and the crackdown on economic crime, and

satisfactorily handling the "two hands" relationship by firmly establishing on the one hand support for the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy and on the other hand a determined mindset to crackdown on economic criminal activities. The second entails eliminating the opposing views arising over the crackdown on economic crime and the crackdown on crime in general, and satisfactorily handling the "two crackdowns" relationship by continuing to strongly and expeditiously crackdown on serious criminal offenses according to the law while attaching more importance to the work of cracking down on economic crime.

2. Make the key points stand out, pay special attention to large and serious cases. The harm and effect of large and serious economic crime cases is great. In investigating and handling cases of this type, policy limits are in general comparatively easy to handle and obstacles are relatively few, which may reduce misgivings over the fear of mishandling cases. Practice shows that the handling of large cases producing severe repercussions for criminal elements, is of great use in the education of our cadres and the masses, and can result in further breakthroughs due to a trickle down effect. Therefore, we have all along stressed that large and serious cases must be handled first, arranging in order of importance and urgency the clues to those large serious cases already placed on file and under investigation, organizing our elite strength for handling cases, and with procurator-generals leading the way, pursuing cases with vigor, never letting up, making breakthroughs one by one and gradually opening up new prospects. Handle large cases first, because the more they are handled, the more confidence, momentum, and experience is gained while cases of that general class are also satisfactorily handled.

3. "Use the system, and the system will work well"--take a systematic approach to carrying out the work to clean up economic crime. This is an effective method which combines specialized organs with the mass line in the fight to crackdown on economic crime. In general, this process entails investigative research; the selection of cases on the basis of high frequency of occurrence, degree of harmfulness, and systems and features beset by roughly similar problems; the use of large and serious cases to forge a breakthrough and spur on the investigative and handling work for the entire system; and on the basis of self investigations and combined investigations within each system, the detection of clues in economic crime cases and the actual crackdown on serious economic criminal activity. For example, Hebei province last year obtained demonstrative results by focusing on false trademarks in the food, supply and marketing, and banking systems. Adopting the approach of "Use the system, and the system will work well" will not only cause the fight to continue, but can also lead those units in which cases have occurred to regain the initiative, thus making our road easier to travel.

4. Dare to meet resistance head-on, be adept at meeting resistance head-on, and break up contact networks and protective layers. In the crackdown against serious economic criminal activity, a small number of leading cadre and organizational units either because their thoughts on supporting the "two hands" are unclear and they believe that the crackdown on economic crime deviates from the core of our economic construction and, as a result, obstruct the policy

of opening towards the outside and invigorating the domestic economy, or because they proceed from the interests of a small clique, or because they themselves are impure and some have personal financial problems, not only fail to actively assist the procuratorial organs in investigating and handling cases, but impose interference from many sides and put up obstacles instead. Some of them run hither and thither, absolving themselves and pleading for mercy; some disregard the penal code and make a practice of committing crimes; some dictate the law by word or by authority, to the point of utilizing their official powers to shield criminal elements. In some cases, the degree of difficulty involved in breaking up the contact networks and protective layers was greater than in the investigation and handling of the cases themselves. Therefore, we must: 1) Uphold reliance upon the law, strict enforcement of the law, mandatory investigations into violations of the law, and impartial execution of the law; be beyond reproach, not be afraid of offending people, not be afraid of retaliation, and dare to meet resistance head-on. These are the qualities procuratorial cadres must possess. 2) We must accomplish investigative research work, ascertain the key details of a case, and support using facts as a basis and the law as criteria. So long as the evidence is conclusive, it will then be convincing. 3) CPC committees and higher-level procuratorial organs must be kept regularly apprised of the situation so as to gain their support. This way, any contact network or protective layer is capable of being broken up.

5. Strengthen specific applied law, policy research, and interpretation work. Under the new conditions surrounding the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy, economic criminal activities have assumed many new traits and features. The limits of some laws and policies used in handling cases are not easily managed, which has affected the continuation of our fight. In light of this situation and on the basis of continued investigative and analytical research and the repeated solicitation of opinions, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the Supreme People's Court jointly drafted "Answers to the Current Problems Involving Specific Applied Laws in Handling Economic Crime Cases," and in so doing rendered interpretations on limitation questions surrounding cases of corruption, bribery, speculation and profiteering, swindling, etc., provided the basis for a timely and accurate crackdown on economic crime, and assumed the role of an active catalyst.

6. Strengthen professional guidance, lead the fight to continue uninterrupted.

- 1) Work upwardly; have lower-level procuratorial organs submit reports on major and difficult cases to higher-level procuratorial organs, and then jointly research and solve the problems encountered in handling these cases.
- 2) Work downwardly; conduct investigative research, assist in handling cases, and strengthen professional guidance. The Supreme People's Procuratorate focused on the four key areas of Guangdong, Fujian, Hebei, and Henan, dispatched working groups on several occasions, provided consultation for and guided the handling of cases. We also broadly publicized the experiences of investigating and handling economic crime cases in such areas as Henan, Hebei, Shandong, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gulin, Heilongjiang, and Guizhou.

7. Use model cases to serve as vivid teaching materials and conduct education to propagandize the legal system. In terms of pure significance, this is even more important than the actual investigation and handling of cases. Therefore, sum up experiences and conduct propaganda work in the same manner as the investigation and handling of cases--earnestly and meticulously. When making breakthroughs in large and serious cases, use model cases to serve as vivid teaching materials, bring to light varying circumstances, propagandize the legal system, and educate the cadres and the masses.

8. Rely on the leadership of the CPC committees, strike a blow in the all-out war to crackdown on serious economic crimes. The party's leadership is our fundamental guarantee which will enable us to be victorious in our fight. In practice, contact networks and protective layers in a number of major cases were broken up under the direct leadership of the CPC committees. The crackdown on economic crime is just like the crackdown on other criminal offenses: we cannot rely solely on the crackdown itself; comprehensive administration and various other efforts must be simultaneously strengthened. We cannot rely solely on the procuratorial organs and political departments; the entire party and all of society must become involved and take action. Only under the leadership of CPC committees at all levels can political departments and the departments concerned be led to act in concert, coordinate closely, wage an all-out war, and carry out the fight against common and serious economic criminal activity.

### III. Since Economic Crime Remains Fairly Rampant, We Must Steadfastly Carry on the Fight to Crackdown on Serious Economic Crime

Although the fight to crackdown on serious economic crime has achieved remarkable successes over the past year, economic criminal activity remains quite rampant; the number of incidents is great, the damage is considerable, the methods involved are odious, and the circumstances are critical, on a scale rarely seen since the founding of this nation. The proportion of large cases involving over 10,000 yuan to the total number of economic crime cases has risen steadily. Some bribery cases have involved 100,000 yuan, corruption cases one million yuan, the resale of foreign exchange 10 million yuan, profiteering and speculation and swindling cases have surpassed 10 billion yuan, and smuggling and black marketeering are so widespread that people are shocked beyond belief. The main characteristics of contemporary economic criminal activity are:

1. Collusion between insiders and outsiders, collaboration from above and below, and the conditions for common crime are prominent. Contemporary economic crime almost always involves our internal units and cadres, and some cases have involved leadership cadre at the county level and above as well as numerous units. Employing money as they "universal key," criminal elements do not hesitate to use massive sums of money to bribe those state cadre who hold power in their hands, thereby opening up a link. After state workers accept a bribe, they use their authority to flash the green light to criminal elements, thus making it easy for them. Some criminal elements are fond of saying, "Use my money to buy your power, use your power to make my money."

2. Criminal activity which, under the names of various "corporations," "centers," and "trading firms," uses contracts or creates false contracts to engage in profiteering, speculation, and swindling is rampant. The names of some of these "corporations" is simply startling--"PRC," "International," "Global," or "Universal," they have them all. And the scale of this business is enormous. No matter what you want, they have, and no matter what you have, they will cheat you out of it. In reality, they have no capital, goods, or business space, and even with the "briefcases" there is no "briefcase company;" they simply specialize in signing contracts as a means for speculating, merchandising, and conducting profiteering and swindling activities.

3. Some government organs and units from state-run and collective enterprises have, in the interests of a small group or essentially in the interests of the individual, given into greed and forsaken righteousness by joining up and combining forces with society's lawless elements in the conduct of economic criminal activities on a large scale, thus harming the state and cheating the citizens. Because they carry the banner reform and collectivism and also use the signboards and capital of organs and units from enterprises to conceal illegal activities under the name of the law, they are much more fraudulent and harmful. The danger in this type of crime as opposed to crimes perpetrated by individuals is much greater.

4. Almost every time we set forth some new concrete policies or reform some particular systems, there are invariably some unlawful elements that use every possible device to change their tactics and come up with new ways to exploit the loopholes in new policies, systems, and administrations to conduct criminal activities. When the government implemented its reform of food purchase prices, they resorted to "parity means a negotiated price, and a negotiated price means exceeding the purchase price," and made off with the state's food purchase funds. When the government acted to reform the system for handling goods and materials, they bought and sold for profit those goods and materials that were in great demand so as to reap exorbitant profits. When the state implemented various special policies in special economic zones, they resorted to fleeing and circumventing foreign exchange restrictions, and smuggling and trafficking. When the state introduced its policy to reduce taxes on collective enterprises, they diverted the means of production and capital from state-run enterprises to collective enterprises, thus evading taxes and lining their own pockets or sharing it with the collectives.

5. Some persons with past records of misdoings are dubbed "able persons," and "Gods of Wealth," and are used again and again to commit crimes. In particular are some key members of the "Gang of Four" faction, who believe "In economics, one must reap profits," and have not become economic "upstarts."

There presently exists a group of unlawful elements who recklessly, unscrupulously, and with no regard for the consequences conduct criminal activities, are swollen with arrogance, and are extremely harmful. In economic terms, they have embezzled state and collective property, directly undermined the reform and the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic

economy, and disrupted the building of a socialist economy. In political terms, they have damaged the prestige of our party and our socialist system, tread on the morale of society and the laws of the state, disturbed public security and social order, and disrupted a stable and united political situation. In ideological terms, they have contaminated the bodies of the party and the state, polluted the general mood of society, poisoned the minds of the people, and corrupted the cadres and masses. Some old cadre who have been in the party for many years and have held leadership positions did not duck under the hail of bullets, but instead got hit by the sugar-coated bullets, got dragged into the water, and degenerated into criminal elements. If our awareness about the seriousness and harmfulness of economic crimes is insufficient and these criminal elements are allowed to commit all kinds of outrages, this will prove to be extremely harmful and dangerous. The crackdown on economic crime is related to the life and death of our party and state; it is related to the rise-or-fall, victory-or-defeat struggle of the cause of socialism and cannot be slackened in the least bit. The entire party and all of society must take action, strike a blow in the all-out war to crackdown on economic crime, and resolutely bring down the swollen arrogance of criminal elements.

China's current political and economic conditions are very good. Following the National Conference of Party Delegates, the CPC Central Committee emphasized a simultaneous focus on the building of a socialist material civilization and a socialist spiritual civilization, and intensification of ideological and political work. Recently, the Central Committee decided to focus first on the problems of party character in central party, state, and military organs and in Beijing Municipal organs, aiming to achieve results within one-half to 1 full year. This has created the most favorable of conditions for the continued development of the fight to crackdown on economic crime. From the perspective of the work situation of the entire nation's procuratorial organs, the fight to crackdown on economic crime has already entered into a new era. The party rectification, the correction of new unhealthy tendencies, the major finance, tax revenue, and price inspections and the cleaning up and straightening out of corporations, as well as the judicial departments' investigation and handling of economic crime cases have combined to form the formidable strength of the crackdown on economic crime. Procuratorial organs at all levels must seize the favorable opportunity before us, earnestly sum up experiences and lessons, strive to consolidate and expand the favorable tendencies that have already appeared, continue to practice the guiding principle of complete and strict adherence to the law, conscientiously correct the phenomena involving weak efforts in the crackdown, vigorously pursue large and serious cases, increase comprehensive administrative work, and steadfastly persevere in the fight to crackdown on serious economic crime. The numerous procuratorial cadres must endure new hardships and tests in the fight, truly do what is right, remain uncorrupted, remain upright and outspoken, execute the law impartially, establish and maintain a good image of the procuratorial troops, and make new contributions to the defense and promotion of the socialist modernization drive.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## ZHANG ZHIGUO ON HUMANITIES, SOCIAL SCIENCES

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11, 25 Jun, 2 Jul 86

[Article by Zhang Zhiguo [1728 1807 0248]: "The Fall and Rise of Scientific Idols"]

[11 Jun 86 p 4]

[Text] Man needs idols as a drug to comfort the soul, as a spiritual prop in life. If an idol is removed from the pedestal, the result may be nothing short of disturbance and unrest. Academic researchers routinely pay lip service to independence and autonomy, but in reality they too fail to free themselves from the strictures of idolatry.

Before the mid-nineteenth century, the Western intellectual world was still in a tranquil state. Most experts in the humanities and social sciences followed the natural scientific method in their research. They subscribed to and regarded as absolute truth Newton's principles and Leibniz's mechanical determinism theory in physics. Idols, scientific idols, were deeply implanted in their consciousness and sustained their faith in their research. This explains why Comte's positivism attracted a swarm of followers as soon as it appeared. Newtonian physics, however, was undermined by the emergence of Non-Euclidean geometry and the appearance of the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics. The latter also exploded Leibniz's mechanical determinism theory. If classical physics was not totally correct, was the positivistic method based on it still reliable? Now that "the absolute truth" no longer existed, how could the idol that used to command public respect not collapse as well? Hence disturbances and unrest appeared until they engulfed the Western world of learning in the humanities and social sciences.

Scholars in the humanities and social sciences have begun to ponder this question anew: As part of natural science, can the positivistic method explain human society? Can the humanities and social sciences depend on the positivistic approach to lead them to truth? Heated debates and intense studies are under way in certain areas in the humanities and social sciences, including psychology, history, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy. In philosophy, some people (like Russell) have put forward a logical positivistic method, but there are dissenting voices, such as those of Bergson, who propounded a philosophy of life, and Husserl, who preached phenomenism.

Apparently the opposition by psychologists before 1900 to the use of "numbers and measurements" to explain psychological phenomena was so strong that the 1926 annual conference on international psychological research had to devote time specifically to discuss the method. Comte's positivistic sociological thesis, too, faced a formidable challenge. The value of the "history-civilization" method and the "explanatory" method of science have again been reinterpreted by workers in the humanities and social sciences. The dethronement of the idols led to disturbance and unrest. In the wake of debates and explorations, the world of learning again came to life.

Debate naturally leads to no result, at least no consensual result. Philosophy and social sciences in the West still conduct academic inquiries along two different lines: One marches under the banner of the natural scientific method, the other puts its faith in the value of the humanistic method. Soviet scholars have severely criticized this methodological dichotomy, arguing instead for a marriage between the natural scientific and humanistic methods. In reality, however, it is not easy to bring about such a marriage. Today, at a time when natural science advances by leaps and bounds, the so-called "three old theories"--cybernetics, systems theory, and information theory--and the so-called "three new theories"--the dissipation structure theory, coordination theory, and catastrophe theory"--remain the idols of those who march to the beat of the natural scientific method. May be a day will come when the validity of the "three old theories" and "three new theories" is declared null and void, setting the stage for a new round of unrest. But the new natural scientific method that will arise will again be extolled as an idol.

I am not opposed to the introduction of new natural scientific methods into humanistic and social science research, since modern research in history, literature, and communications also applies cybernetics, systems and information theories, and mathematical models. But history is a mirror. Extolling natural science as an idol and looking to it as a "prop," after all, is not the only way out for the humanities and social sciences. Kant was the first to consider the distinction between nature and human society and to draw lines of demarcation between natural law and social law. In studying human society, Karl Marx did not simplistically apply natural law. Instead, he founded the theory of historical materialism embodying the special qualities of human society by building on the achievements of natural science. The development of modern natural science is a spur to the development of the humanities and social sciences. It is perfectly possible for the humanities and social science to find their own path of development--if only they rid themselves of idolatry and the mentality of dependency.

[25 Jun 86 p 4]

[Text] One often hears this theory being trotted out on various occasions: "Only by allowing people to debate (and contend) fully and freely can we demonstrate intellectual dynamism." Clearly this saying is correct. But still I feel that something is lacking. Whether it be "argue" or "contend," their major function is to state one's views, not to give birth to a theory. The motto-like thesis--"It is in debate that truth is stated clearly"--sums up most neatly the function of this kind of intellectual debate.

An intellectual debate often revolves around a book or the viewpoint or idea of a particular person who has passed away. What does Lu Xun's "The True Story of A Q" really reflect? Does Li Yu's ci really have an affinity to the people? Whose ideas come closest to explaining "the essence of beauty"-- Zhu Guangqian [2612 0342 3383], Cai Yi [5591 0308], Li Zehou [2621 3419 0624], or Gao Ertai's [7559 1422 1132]? We cannot say that there have been few intellectual debates like these since the liberation, nor that they lack intensity. Once a debate takes shape, it also animates the intellectual world. But this kind of debate is only a debate. It does nothing more than liven up the atmosphere. What is "beauty?" This has remained the focus of debates in China's aesthetic circles. Words have been bandied about, creating a semblance of excitement and vitality. It is true that out of these debates emerged the four major schools of thought represented by Zhu Guangqian, Cai Yi, Li Zehou, and Gao Ertai, but all their theories can be found in Western aesthetics. Today Zhu Guangqian has passed away and Li Zehou has announced that he is "retiring" from the debate. But their ideas are still being stated and restated. Many a time they even appear as debaters in the aesthetic community.

Books are where genius has left its mark. They embody the thoughts of thinkers and constitute a forum where truth discoverers explain their findings. Intellectual inquiries and debates may revolve around books, but the value of such activities is at most that of rediscovering a meaning and reaffirming its position in history and reality. Even when a debate does occur, perhaps even heatedly, it is only a case of someone rediscovering a point in a book which another person does not agree with or of two or more people assessing a book or a genius differently. If this kind of inquiry is what intellectual development depends on for its momentum, and if it is what sustains intellectual vigor, then the future does not look bright. Certainly we are not saying that we do not want such research. The question is whether or not we should consider it the only intellectual approach.

We derive most of our knowledge from books. Books transmit to us the thoughts of geniuses and of our forefathers. That is how we become thinking human beings. Unfortunately, these thoughts do not belong to us. If we plunge into the fray of intellectual inquiry and debate thus equipped, we will be merely rehashing others' ideas, putting forward an additional argument to buttress an existing theory. This might have been very valuable in Confucian scholarship, but I am highly skeptical about its actual value these days. From book to book, from concept to concept--herein probably lies an important reason why the humanities and social sciences are so backward in China. After the United States obtained its independence, the philosopher Emerson delivered a famous speech titled "The American Scholar" to university students in the city of Cambridge. At the outset he said, "Our long intellectual apprenticeship to other nations during which we are slavishly dependent is fast coming to an end. Millions of people around us have thrown themselves into life with all its vigor. They cannot forever pick up phrases from somebody and pass them off as their own." This is a "declaration of intellectual independence by the United States" It is exactly this unwillingness to remain dependent and be apprenticed to other nations that has propelled learning in the United States and spurred its natural science,

humanities, and social sciences to pursue their own unique development course. Do we also need a declaration of intellectual independence today?

We carry a heavy intellectual burden, part of it is China's long civilization, part of it the legacy of many years of national isolation. So we are saddled with a dual mission--sorting out the national classics and understanding the world. With this burden, we find ourselves either buried under a mountain of ancient scripts or afloat in a sea of foreign texts; one needs to be sorted out, the other has to be digested. When then can we find the time to do our own modern original creation? The essence of intellectual dynamism is original creation. It is not original creation to repeat the ideas of a genius or of someone from the past, or to pick up phrases from somebody and pass them off as our own. To be originally creative, we cannot but face life and keep track of what people do and experience. To serve reality, we must adapt to the times through creation based on life. To develop theories, we need even more to follow life to bring about original creation. During World War II, U.S. anthropologists studied the Japanese character using documented materials. Only when they conducted in-depth studies in Japan after the war did they discover that their original perceptions did not accord with realities. As a result, their conclusions, originally intended to be the basis for postwar U.S. policies toward Japan, failed to produce any real impact. We should learn a lesson from this experience. I hope to see a lively intellectual scene where original creation flourishes, but not a situation where debates rage over the rehashing of other people's ideas. Contemporary scholars should be the creators of ideas and theories and the discoverers of truth. They should not restate old ideas without being creative, or be mere "consultants."

[2 Jul 86 p 4]

[Text] We have always been most careful to avoid the word, "opportunity," for fear of being suspected of "promoting idealism." In fact, opportunity means no more than fortuity. Inevitability and fortuity are antithetical to each other. Without fortuity, there can be no inevitability. "If there is no tiger in the mountains, the monkey will reign supreme." This reveals the notion of opportunity. Under the "law of inevitability," it should be the tiger which dominates the mountains. Yet because it so happens that there is no tiger in the mountains, the monkey gets the opportunity to be king "fortuitously."

The notion of taking advantage of opportunity occurred to Westerners as early as the Middle Ages. This is because some gamblers often had difficulty predicting the outcomes of their wagers. Pascal, the 16th century French mathematician, was once a gambler wallowing in worldly pleasures. His daily gambling activities set him thinking: What are a gambler's odds of winning when a game stops at any point in time? With that as a starting point, he actually went on to invent the probability theory with another mathematician, Fermat. The theory of probability is concerned with randomness. Although its aim is to deduce general laws from random natural and social phenomena, it also recognizes the randomness and irregularity in nature and society. Newtonian physics takes causality as its point of departure and therefore rejects randomness and irregularity; all things are thought to have an

inevitable cause-and-effect relationship. The advancement of the theory of relativity and experiments in quantum physics discover the probability world of materials. Observed from the perspective of probability relations, the quality of randomness stands a better chance of being known to more people. This is exactly what gave birth to probability theory of the 17th century which was not extensively applied until this century. From opportunity studies to the founding of the theory of probability to its extensive application--this progression represents, to my mind, a consolidation and a quantum leap in human understanding of opportunity.

To talk about opportunity in learning was once considered a dangerous thing. But academic research itself is replete with opportunities. [Bei Fu Li Ji's] book "The Art of Scientific Research" has a chapter on opportunity in which he illustrates opportunity in scientific discovery with 10 examples, such as the discovery by Gramm, a Danish physician, of a process of staining bacteria, Hopkins' discovery of tryptophan resolution, and [He Si Te's] finding that the influenza virus can make the red blood cells of chickens coagulate, etc. To acknowledge opportunity is not to deny inevitability and regard everything as mysterious and unpredictable. Inevitability cannot be ignored. Pasteur says it well, "In the field of observation, opportunity favors those who come intellectually prepared." To any researcher, intellectual preparation is the embodiment of inevitability. But facts tell us that there is nothing inevitable about scientific discoveries and inventions, no matter how well prepared the researcher. An important reason here is that new theories do not inevitably spring forth from old theories, and new knowledge is not necessarily deduced from old knowledge. Indeed [Bei Fu Li Ji] argues, "New knowledge often originates in some accidental observation or fortuitous event in the research progress." An accidental happening may shed light on an area where existing knowledge does not lead the researcher and makes him the father of new knowledge.

Opportunity is an unexpected extraordinary event and is therefore irrational. Robert Merton, the U.S. sociologist, has put forward a theory for an opportunity model. This theory questions the "logical model" that we have always regarded as correct. (Under the logical model, one starts with a hypothesis, makes inferences from it, submits it to various tests, and then validates or rejects it based on experience.) What one discovers fortuitously often contradicts one's earlier hypothesis and points up a new direction for exploration. At this juncture the starting point for research is no longer a hypothesis but a fortuitous discovery made in the course of research. This opportunity becomes the starting point for theoretical creation or elaboration. Since a fortuitous discovery arises in the course of research and observation (as demonstrated by [Bei Fu Li Ji's] examples), it is based on experience and observation. Hence we can see that although one must deviate from the logical model to emphasize opportunity, that is not idealism. On the contrary, it raises the point that researchers should pay attention to experience, research, and observation. This is because opportunity is something we usually come across by chance in practice. And, under certain circumstances, an opportunity is frequently the incubator of new theories.

We often laugh at the man in the Song dynasty who "stood by the stump waiting for more hares to come and dash themselves against it." It is foolish to see

some kind of inevitable regularity in a fortuitous event, but the smart person who operates by the law of inevitable regularity will not have predicted that a running hare would dash against a stump and get killed either. Opportunity has no place in logical deduction. It is a product of practice, of observing life. To grasp opportunities is effectively to keep a watchful eye on life in all its diversity, on practice with all its richness. Compared to life, theory is always grey. To pursue life's fortuitous events and opportunities, theory cannot but constantly follow life, which is ever-changing, and provide it with fore-warnings.

12581  
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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## ROTATIONAL SYSTEM FOR LEADING CADRES SUGGESTED

Shenyang LILUN YU SHIJIAN [THEORY AND PRACTICE] in Chinese No 9, 6 May 86  
pp 17-18

[Article by Wang Jicong [3769 4949 5115] and Ji Yangzhou [1213 7402 3166]:  
"Establish and Perfect a System of Periodic Rotation of Leading Cadres"]

[Text] In the past few years, we have made important progress in consolidating and readjusting the leading bodies at various levels, in making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent, in breaking the life tenure of leading cadre positions and in achieving cooperation between old and new cadres and succession of the new to the old. The leading bodies have improved considerably not only in age and cultural composition but in intellectual structure as a whole. However, party committees and governments at all levels still have not paid enough attention to establishing and perfecting a system for periodic exchange and rotation of leading cadres.

The situation is almost universal: Many principal leading cadres have worked for a long time in the same place, the same department and even the same unit, and local cadres have held major leading positions in local party and government organizations for a long time, ranging from over 10 years to several decades. These cadres are familiar with the local conditions, which is helpful in work, but there are also drawbacks. First, their long terms of office in one place results in the formation of complicated relations with superiors, subordinates, relatives, friends and in-laws, complex organizational affiliations and even factional forces. This is an important source of unhealthy party style, as well as an important manifestation of unhealthy party style in itself. Second, "inbreeding" results in favoritism and the formation of personal followings, which is detrimental to the development of cadres with both ability and moral integrity for the four modernizations. Third, newly promoted cadres are likely to find many former superiors among their colleagues in leading bodies. As a result, they tend to stick to the old ways, do as they are told and fail to fully utilize their intelligence, creativity and initiative. Fourth, it tends to result in narrow localism and discrimination against cadres who are not native to the locality. This is not conducive to strengthening inner-party unity and mobilizing the positive factors among cadres "from all over the country," but will encourage the spreading of

unhealthy trends in organizational and personnel work. Fifth, a cadre who has worked in one place for a long time is familiar with local conditions, knows his way around and enjoys the loyalty of subordinates, and it seems easy to reach an agreement between him and his subordinates. But, in the long run, an inertia is bound to develop in them, and their thinking will become gradually ossified and conservative, preventing them from broadening their vision, developing their abilities and creating a new situation in work. To solve these problems, we feel that in addition to regular education of party-member cadres in party style and discipline, it is necessary to implement a system of periodic exchange and rotation of leading cadres as soon as possible.

Recently party committees at various levels have to varying degrees come to see the importance in rotating leading cadres, and actions have been taken to have some leading cadres rotated, but the number is small, and even smaller is the number of principal leading cadres rotated. There is still resistance against rotation, and practical problems demand prompt solutions. To further improve the system of periodical interchange and rotation of leading cadres so that it will develop soundly on the right track, it is necessary in the light of the present state of leading bodies at all levels to pay attention to the following questions at present and for some time to come.

1. It is necessary to increase our understanding of the need to implement the system of periodic exchange and rotation of leading cadres. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "It is good for some people to be transferred to some other suitable place, know more about the situation and act more carefully when something happens. It short, it is not good to stay in one place too long." Periodical rotation of leading cadres is an important measure to get rid of factionalism, localism and mountain-stronghold mentality, an effective way to correct the unhealthy practices in cadre personnel management, and a powerful driving force as well as pressure to stimulate leading cadres to get rid of the baggage, start up the machine, forge ahead courageously and strive for results. Comrade Mao Zedong had personally presided over the rotation of the commanders of the eight military regions and strengthened the armed forces. Today, as the cadre personnel system is being further reformed, we should pay even greater attention to the rotation system, place it on the agenda of important matters of party committees and governments at all levels, give intensive publicity to the great significance of the periodic rotation of leading cadres, and make sure that it is implemented as an important part of the reform of the cadre personnel management system.

2. It is necessary to have a realistic, feasible and effective rotation plan. Periodic rotation of leading cadres is an extremely serious matter and should be handled in a well-planned way. Therefore, party committees and governments at all levels should draw up long-term plans on who will be rotated and when and to where, and make short-term arrangements for implementation. We feel that the persons to be rotated should be mainly leading party and government cadres at and above the county level and major responsible persons of departments directly in charge of personnel, money and supplies, and that the time of their periodic rotation should be based on the terms of office to which they are elected by the relevant congresses. Those elected to a 3-year term should not be reelected more than two times. Those elected to 4-year or 5-year terms generally should not be reelected more than once, and under extraordinary circumstances not more than two times. Periodic rotation can be

carried out in swaps, transfers, reassessments and other forms and ways. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the organization and implementation work for the leading cadres being rotated, helping them solve practical problems caused by their rotation, and do good ideological and educational work among them so that they will gladly accept rotation according to plans and arrangements made by their organizations.

3. In the periodic rotation of leading cadres, attention should be paid to breaking their "personal connections." To break the "personal connections" in cadre personnel work, it is necessary to follow the principle of avoiding "native place," "relatives" and "friends" in arranging leading cadres' work posts. To avoid "native place," local officials, particularly principal leading cadres at the county and township levels, should not work in their native places. To avoid "relatives," one should not work in the same unit, same department and especially the same leading body with one's father, sons, brothers, sisters, husband, wife and other relatives to the extent possible. To avoid "friends," one should not serve as a leading cadre in the same department and same leading body for too long with too many old comrades, acquaintances, superiors and friends. Only in this way will it be possible to organizationally eliminate the complex "personal connections" step by step and help bring about a fundamental turn for the better in party style and social conduct.

4. It is necessary to strengthen the evaluation of leading cadres to know how they are doing. To implement periodical rotation of leading cadres, it is imperative to strengthen the evaluation of their performance. Their moral integrity and ability should be used as the basic criterion, and the fulfillment of their personal responsibilities should be taken as the major basis, to make a comprehensive evaluation of their moral integrity, competence, work attendance and achievements. To have a good idea of every leading cadre's work, ability, thinking and character as the basis for a rotation plan, the leadership needs to keep in touch with the masses and pay attention to each cadre on a regular basis, in addition to periodic evaluations.

In short, the periodic rotation of leading cadres involves many people and faces many problems. However, if we actively probe ahead, boldly move on, do patient and meticulous ideological and political work, really solve the practical problems and see the task of the rotation of leading cadres in the light of its importance to the four modernizations and the fundamental improvement of the party's work style, we certainly can keep it going and making new progress.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'FOUR TRANSFORMATIONS,' DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG CADRES LINKED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 86 p 10

[Article by Li Qinglin [2621 3237 2651]: "The 'Four Transformations' Principle on Cadres and the Development of Young Cadres"]

[Text] To become really useful and accomplish something young cadres cannot be without the guidance of the principle that cadres should become more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent. Implementation of the "four transformations" principle for cadres has created very favorable conditions for the sound development of young cadres. In other words, the "four transformations" cadre principle and the development of young cadres are closely linked.

First, the revolutionary nature of the "four transformations" cadre principle requires that young cadres must first of all improve their political quality. The principle gives full expression to the dialectical unity of political integrity and ability on the premise of revolutionization. This is an important idea consistently stressed by the party Central Committee. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out emphatically at the party's national conference: "What is most important for the young and the middle-aged cadres in succeeding to the old is to emulate their heroic spirit of maintaining the revolutionary struggle." Now, some comrades hold that "revolutionization" is something "empty" and "soft," and that education and specialization are "real" and "solid." Therefore, they ignore the study of basic Marxist theories and the party's principles and policies, the tempering of party spirit and the improvement of political quality. This is very dangerous. Young cadres must strive conscientiously to improve their political quality, setting strict demands on themselves and constantly tempering their party spirit. Those young cadres with leadership responsibilities, in particular, must pass the tests of "power," "personal feelings" and "money," follow the principle of democratic centralism conscientiously, accept supervision by both superiors and subordinates willingly, and be good public servants of the people.

Second, the practical nature of the "four transformations" cadre principle requires that young cadres must make contributions and accomplish things for the people. Some young cadres fail to concentrate their efforts on their own work, but are concerned only about what the organization and the masses think

of them, and this has adversely affected their development. In judging whether a cadre meets the "four transformations" requirements, the party bases its judgment mainly on the cadre's practice and real achievements in work. Therefore, one should not passively complain about poor environment and conditions, but should wonder whether one has made enough subjective efforts. There is no shortcut for young cadres to meet the "four transformations" requirements. They must make concentrated efforts to do their own jobs well and work conscientiously and in a down-to-earthly way to bring benefit to the people and make contributions to the four modernizations.

Third, the wholeness of the "four transformations" cadre principle requires that young cadres must temper themselves in an all-around way. The "four transformations" of cadres are an organically linked whole, and not a single one of them can be dispensed with. Every cadre must use the "four transformations" principle to measure himself as a whole. Being strong in one of the four aspects cannot make up for weakness in the other three. Generally speaking, young cadres have many strong points and advantages. For example, they have some advantages in age and culture, are more active and less conservative in thinking, have greater courage in blazing new trails and so forth. But they also have weak points and disadvantages. Generally they have not been tempered long enough in social and party life, do not have enough experience and so forth. Young cadres should not use their strong points to compare with others' weak points and seek no progress because they have some strong points, but neither should they see only their shortcomings, lose sight of their strong points and become disheartened. Practice can be any number of things. For young cadres, practice in work at the grassroots level is especially important. Therefore, young cadres who have not yet tempered themselves at the grassroots level should do so now. Even those who have tempered themselves at the grassroots level should go back there from time to time to get a deeper understanding of the actual conditions and supplement and improve their book knowledge and professional skills.

Fourth, the protracted nature of the implementation of the "four transformations" principle requires young cadres to have a firm and indomitable spirit and be mentally prepared to receive a long period of tempering. The "four transformations" of cadres is not only the goal of our protracted struggle, but also a process to strengthen the ranks of our cadres. They cannot be accomplished over night on a crash basis. The concrete substance of the "four transformations" of cadres and the objective requirements of the socialist modernization drive. This calls for young cadres not only to stand firmly at present, seize every minute and speed up their own tempering, but to plan far into the future with confidence, determination and the spirit of the Foolish Old Man to wage a protracted struggle.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## GUANGDONG LAUNCHES PARTY RECTIFICATION IN TOWNSHIPS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Feng Yuluan [7458 0060 7762], Chen Zixia [7115 1311 1115], and Yang Changliao [2799 7022 6697]: "Party Cadres Sent to Countryside to Assist with Party Rectification"]

[Text] Guangdong Province has launched rural party rectification at the township level across the board. In recent days, liaison workers trained by the province, prefectures, and counties have successively fanned out across the province to assist party committees at all levels to do a good job in township-level party rectification.

The latest round of rural party rectification at the township level is the largest and most extensive such effort since party rectification began in 1983. It is also the last round of rectification. Taking part in it are over 26,000 party branches, or half of all party branches in the province, and a total of 930,000 party members, 40 percent of Guangdong's total party membership. To do the various rectification tasks well from start to finish, municipal (prefectural) party committees in Guangzhou, Hainan, Shantou, Zhaoqing, Jiangmen, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Foshan, Maoming, Zhanjiang, Shaoguan, Huiyang, and Mei County as well as party committees in the Li and Miao Autonomous Prefectures on Hainandao have been convening party rectification working conferences for their localities since late July to consider and plan party rectification work at the township level. They believe that successful party rectification at the township level has profound significance for promoting the construction of the two civilizations in the countryside in Guangdong, furthering rural reform, and vitalizing the economy. Armed with experience in county and district rectification and from pilot projects in township party rectification, which provide favorable conditions for party rectification at the township level, they are fully confident that they will succeed and are determined to take feasible, practical measures in accordance with the provincial party committee's plan to do a good rectification job at the township level, upholding high standards and making stringent demands.

The provincial party committee takes this round of township-level party rectification in the rural areas very seriously. It has assigned 5,000 party members and cadres from organizations directly under the province to form 15 liaison groups and 3 inspection groups, and dispatched them to localities

across the province to work together with liaison groups, made up of 3,000 party members and cadres and sent by various municipalities (prefectures), counties, and districts, in order to assist party committees and party branches everywhere in party rectification.

In separate speeches to the working conference for township-level party rectification liaison workers, Wang Ning [3769 1337] and Guo Rongchang [6753 2837 2490], deputy provincial party secretaries and vice chairmen of the party rectification guiding group, emphasized that the workers must understand the guiding ideas on party rectification clearly and help local party organizations do a good party rectification job by adhering to high standards. They hope that everybody would enhance his sense of honor and responsibility as a liaison worker and accomplish the mission entrusted to him by the provincial party committee outstandingly.

12581  
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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

RELAXED ATMOSPHERE ADVOCATED FOR LEADERS, REFORMERS  
Nation's Future Seen in Reform

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Zong He [1350 0735]: "Reformers Are Humans, Not Gods: On Creating a Relaxed Environment for Reform"]

[Text] Coming under greater and greater censure and criticism, many dedicated reformers helplessly lament the "tough going." At the outset, it was predicted by some people that reform would come to no good end. As if the prediction had come true, some reformers have indeed been "hit by the arrow and thrown from their horses." Those still "hanging on" are running into obstacles left and right and find the going rough. Meanwhile, some enterprises are no longer so prosperous. The situation tells us that reform urgently needs a relaxed environment. If only by carrying out reform will there be hope and a future, then only by creating a relaxed environment will it be possible to carry out reform.

When it comes to reform, it seems that it is supported by everyone, but in practical life, there is an incomprehensible odd phenomenon: in spite of wrong decisions, poor operation, and losses to the enterprise, those sticking to conventions and "acting according to regulations" remain safe and sound and keep all their "benefits" intact, while, in spite of results and achievements, those vigorously carrying out reform and courageously exploring new moves invariably incur criticisms. Discussing the difficulties, a fairly well-known reformer declared emotionally: "There are too many instances of one person doing the work, two persons writing letters to the higher level, and four persons making an investigation." His words seem to be an exaggeration, but people of the following type are not rare in actual life: they fail to see the heavy burden, labor, achievements, and contributions of reformers, but seize upon their trivial defects and dwell on them, somewhat in the spirit of "picking bones in the egg." It is not entirely correct to say that there is malice, but even if it is for the sake of "curing the illness to save the patient," the "surgery" to "cure the illness" is actually more frightening than the "illness." A reformer declared: "I am willing to die of exhaustion, but not of persecution." How much bitterness in these words!

As the saying goes, "no gold is pure; no man is perfect." No need for reticence, reformers indeed have shortcomings and make mistakes, but they are humans, not gods! Reportedly gods are omnipotent, but whether in Greek mythology or China's ancient myths, we can easily see that gods also miscalculated

at times. Even gods make mistakes, let alone humans! Lu Xun said more than 5 decades ago: "The theory that only if all revolutionary troops are totally correct and clear in all their soldierly consciousness can the contingent be deemed a true revolutionary army, otherwise it is worthless and appears to be proper and thorough at first glance, but it is an impossible problem and a form of hollow preaching and a sweet medicine poisonous to the revolution." If we apply the meaning of these words to today's reformers, then perhaps we will not feel so indignant over their shortcomings and mistakes.

The work undertaken by reformers is totally new. There are neither readymade models to follow nor the experiences of predecessors as references. It requires groping in practice and progress in exploration, and groping itself includes successes and setbacks.

Problems, including shortcomings and mistakes, should be promptly pointed out, and enthusiastic help rendered, in order to enable the reformers to progress more steadily. Nevertheless, there is today an issue calling for attention: rather than any major mistakes on their part, undeserved calamities befall the reformers just because their measures infringe on the interests of certain people. There is another situation: because of the millstone of old habits, some people frown on new things, or because of preconceived ideas, prejudices, or even jealousy, they gossip and comment all day long. On the other hand, though competent in their work, most reformers have no means to defend themselves and are easily victimized by plots. An 8-cent stamp created such a furor! This type of instances is not rare. If the situation is not corrected, there can be no relaxed environment.

It has been suggested that leaders dedicated to reform be cherished in politics, supported in theory, and protected by system. All these are indispensable to the creation of a relaxed environment. While doing so, especially today, what is most urgent is that higher-level leaders make a clear-cut stand to support reform, protect reformers, and treat them fairly. Those "hit by the arrow and thrown from their horses" should be helped to remount, and those suffering injustice should be rehabilitated. China's future is in reform, and the fate of reformers is closely linked with our times. Doing their very best, they have made important contributions to our economic construction. Same as everyone else, they are of flesh and blood and need understanding, support, protection, and help!

'Major Practical Significance' Cited

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Shen Qiping [3099 0796 1627]: "Strive To Create a Relaxed and Harmonious Environment"]

[Text] Recently, the leading comrades of the Central authorities have many times said: We must strive to create a relaxed and harmonious environment. What is meant by a relaxed and harmonious environment is an environment of unity, friendship, mutual trust, and mutual understanding. This is the correct policy for making literature and art flourish, enlivening theory, and developing science. It is also an important guiding idea for correctly

handling and solving the problem of thinking and understanding among the people. It is extremely important to comprehend deeply and to implement conscientiously and thoroughly this policy in order to promote the development in depth of all reforms and to usher in a new situation in socialist modernization.

The ideological content of the relaxed and harmonious environment discussed here means: the disputes among the people between various different opinions must be approached in the manner of seeking truth from facts, and the problems of various different ideas and understandings among the people must be approached in the manner of seeking truth from facts. With regard to literary and artistic creations, theoretical explorations, and scientific research, we must permit different artistic forms and different artistic styles to exist freely, and permit different schools and sects to dispute freely. During the debates and explorations of these different artistic forms and styles, schools and sects, we must not wilfully raise them to the higher plane of principle and line, not slap political labels on people right and left, not come down with the big stick on people indiscriminately, and not criticize and attack people from all sides, but rather treat people on the basis of equality, convince people by reasoning, and jointly seek truth. We must let people retain different viewpoints even if they are mistaken viewpoints, and not force views on people or compel them to submit, letting people receive an education amid practice and heighten their understanding. This policy is perfectly consistent with the spirit and demands of the "double hundred" policy. In essence, it is a further implementation under the new circumstances of the specific demands of the "double hundred" policy, and holds firmly to the continuation and development of the "double hundred" policy. It tallies with the objective laws of the development of ideological theory and of science and culture, and reflects the common aspirations of the great number of workers in literature and art, theory, and science. Although this policy directly addresses the work in ideological theory and in science and culture, its significance is far from being limited to the domains of ideological theory and of science and culture. With regard to the entire political life and with regard to the ideological and political leadership on all fronts, we should advocate and strive to form a democratic, harmonious, and friendly environment, and form an atmosphere in which there is mutual trust, mutual understanding, and mutual support and in which people are of one heart and one mind.

At present, the setting forth and stressing of the policy of relaxation and harmony is of major practical significance. First of all, this policy will help to consolidate and develop the stable, united political situation. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the focus of work was shifted. Our main task became to concentrate forces on economic construction and on reforms in all fields. This required a stable, united political situation, a relaxed, harmonious political environment, so that people could concentrate their full attention on all construction and reform undertakings, and with one heart and one mind make contributions to the development of productive forces. Next, the policy is able to better arouse the enthusiasm of all quarters to engage in the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Socialist modernization is an unprecedented, magnificent undertaking, and to build socialism with distinctive Chinese features is a brand-new historical task. We face many new situations and new problems. Under the circumstances in which there are no experiences of any predecessor to draw on, we are required to display the spirit of courageously forging

ahead, to boldly explore, boldly blaze new trails, boldly reform, and in practice to open up a path for advance. It will be hard to avoid having both successes and failures. We must not welcome successes only and not permit failures, even striking down someone once he makes an error. This would certainly dampen people's enthusiasm and zeal for dedicating themselves to the four modernizations. We should permit people to sum up their experiences amid failures and continue to advance. Without a relaxed, harmonious environment it will be impossible to do this. Finally, this policy will help to strengthen and improve ideological and political work in the new period. It should be seen that, because of the influence of the "leftist" ideology over a long period of time, some of our comrades, in their views on certain problems in the ideological field, are always constrained by the old stuff of the past and set too much store on them. They often, consciously or unconsciously, want to put a little tighter stress on them, frequently want to do a little more "criticism" of them, and so forth. This not only makes relations between people extremely tense, but also hinders the progress of the four modernizations. Based on the policy of relaxation and harmony, in our ideological and political work we must abandon these outmoded concepts, and, in accordance with the laws of development of ideology itself, put the work into the bottom of people's hearts and give play to its role of inspiring people to advance bravely. In these years, because our political life has been constantly strengthened, the democratic system has been perfected day by day, the practice of large-scale class struggle and political movements has been refuted, and the people really feel at ease in their minds. They are radiating vigor, and there is a greater upsurge in their zeal for dedicating themselves to the four modernizations. As a result there have appeared flourishing phenomena on all fronts. We deeply believe that by better creating a relaxed, harmonious, and friendly environment and atmosphere, a spring of beautiful flowers will be brought to the ideological and cultural fronts.

Looking back on the history of our party, in this respect there are many experiences and lessons worth remembering. In particular, in 1956, after our country had basically completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, our party correctly saw that the principal contradiction was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, but was rather the contradiction between the people's need for the swift development of the economy and culture and the fact the economy and culture then could not satisfy the people's needs, and that the principle task of all people in the country was to concentrate their strength on developing productive forces. Under this ideological guidance, Comrade Mao Zedong published the article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" in which he proposed the correct distinguishing and handling of the two different types of contradictions in a socialist society, and made the correct handling of the contradictions among the people the theme of the country's political life. He further pointed out that we must "create a political situation that has both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unified will and individual ease of mind and vividness." At the same time he set forth the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," stipulating the correct policy toward intellectuals and toward educational, scientific, and cultural work. This greatly kindled the people's zeal for building socialism, and advantageously promoted a vigorous development of the socialist cause.

However, good times don't last long. Because of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his old age, in our party there occurred in a row a series of faults. In 1957 antirightism was seriously magnified, and in 1959 the party mistakenly launched an "antirightist" struggle. In 1962, during the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee, the party not only affirmed that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was the principal contradiction in China's society, but also asserted categorically that during the entire historical stage of socialism the bourgeoisie would exist and try to restore the old order. At this time, although the "double hundred" policy existed in form, in reality it had been abolished. Therefore, in the ideological domain there appeared a mistaken and excessive political criticism of some literary and artistic works and academic viewpoints and of some representative academic figures in literary and artistic circles. In the approach to intellectuals and to educational, scientific, and cultural questions, there occurred more and more serious "leftist" deviations, so that later they developed into the fuse for the "Great Cultural Revolution." As for the disasters that the "Great Cultural Revolution" caused in the ideological domain, everybody knows about them. This state of affairs ideologically, politically, and economically plunged our party and country into a crisis that was close to a hopeless situation. This was a bitter historical lesson. It told us that among the people, no matter whether in the ideological domain or on the political and economic fronts, there must be a relaxed, harmonious, friendly environment. By putting this kind of policy into effect we will be conforming to the objective laws of the development of thinking and understanding, and it will be advantageous for the development of science and culture and of all undertakings.

Reflecting on the past in the light of the present, how important is the thorough implementation of the policy of relaxation and harmony! Today, when our party is conscientiously summing up historical experiences, again proposing the creation of a relaxed, harmonious environment, and better implementing the "double hundred" policy, in all our work, particularly in the ideological domain of literature and art, theory, and scientific research, the question of how comprehensively, correctly, and thoroughly to implement this policy of the party's is really an extremely important and complex question. In approaching this question, we by no means must repeat past lessons by approaching it in a sweeping, crude, and oversimple fashion. Based on different circumstances, to differentiate certain levels and, in accordance with the party's policy, to deal with each on its own merits is perhaps a feasible method. For example, in dealing with works of literature and literary and artistic phenomena, we can consider the differentiation of several kinds of layers: one kind is the type we should advocate, namely, works that display the construction of the four modernizations, display reforms, eulogize the new people and new things of socialism, and display the spirit of the era and the spirit of the nation. This type of work can give people more education, inspiration, and strength, so that our people will be able to pluck up their fighting will, and with one heart and one mind dedicate themselves and make contributions to the four modernizations. The second is one that we should permit. This type of work has a certain aesthetic value. It can please one's mind and delight one's spirit, give people an enjoyment of the beautiful, give people diversions, and also give people knowledge. In brief, it can satisfy the needs of people's spiritual life in certain respects. There are many works of this type. We must not, proceeding from certain prejudices, censure them at will, but rather should protect, tolerate, and open the door to them. The third type is the one we should give guidance

to. This type of work, generally speaking, is not all that mature artistically and also has certain deficiencies and inadequacies artistically, or else its style is not all that high. However, there is no big problem with it, and even less is there any harm in it. With regard to this type of work, we should not "execute it by shooting," cudgel it to death, and at every turn ban it. Even less should we without limit raise it to the plane of principle, and criticize and besiege it. We should give it guidance, discussing and consulting with the author to help him revise it, so that it is perfected and matured as much as possible. The fourth type is the one we must ban, confiscate, and punish. This type is reactionary or obscene, or else have the aim of advocating feudal superstition or murder and terror. With regard to this type of work, there is no question of relaxation. We must firmly suppress them and without exception confiscate them. and we must not be careless about this. Only by uprooting these poisonous weeds can a hundred flowers blossom in the garden of literature and art. In making this differentiation of levels, there is no fixed pattern. Its meaning is only to provide a method for understanding and handling. This means that with regard to ideology--this complex social phenomenon--and with regard to academic and scientific questions, we must not practice "arbitrary uniformity," but rather must proceed from reality, make specific analyses, and deal with each case on its own merits.

Obviously, the spiritual essence of the relaxed, harmonious, environment we are talking about here is that we must strictly differentiate various different types of contradictions, correctly handle questions of right or wrong in ideology, and encourage people to explore boldly and blaze new trails courageously. We should, from this positive meaning, understand and thoroughly implement this policy. If we depart from this basic point, we could cause misunderstandings and misrepresentations about this policy. Currently, on the ideological and cultural fronts, we must strive to create a relaxed, harmonious atmosphere, and also make a point of putting social benefits in first place and persist in the direction of socialism. With regard to the workers in literature and art, we must correctly understand and recognize the relationships between creative freedom and the sense of social responsibility of writers and artists, between the "double hundred" policy and the "two do's" direction, between the major themes and the diversification of themes, and between improving leadership and strengthening leadership; and in a comprehensive and integrated manner implement the party's policy on literature and art.

However, with regard to the creation of a relaxed, harmonious environment, there still exist among the people all sorts of confused ideas. Some comrades think that the stress on relaxation means a laissez-faire attitude and that liberalization could appear. This is a misunderstanding. Liberalization is a specific political concept. It means the tendency to take the capitalist road. If this dangerous tendency really were to appear, naturally we would have to resolutely oppose it. There simply does not exist any question of relaxation with regard to this matter of orientation. The relaxation we are talking about does not fall within this scope. In our view, relaxation, under the premise of upholding the four basic principles, is a matter of solving the problem of how our party can correctly lead literature and art, theory, scientific research, as well as all work on the ideological

front. It advocates free contention between different viewpoints and academic ideas, and encourages people to speak out freely and air their own views. Within this scope, we should conscientiously engage in democratic, equal, and free discussions and contentions. In this there simply does not exist any question of "liberalization," that is, taking the capitalist road.

There are also some comrades who feel that relaxation means not wanting to strengthen discipline and supervision. This also is a misunderstanding. Actually, this is a case of two different scopes. Relaxation addresses the question of thinking and understanding. But supervision addresses the questions of discipline, rules and regulations, and the legal system. With regard to all people and things that violate discipline, we must, in accordance with party discipline and government discipline, keep them within the necessary bounds of discipline. With regard to all people and things that break the law and commit crimes, we must, based on enforcing the state laws, apply sanctions according to law. In this kind of discipline and legal supervision, there simply does not exist any question of relaxation; on the contrary, it must be strengthened. Leniency and strictness are a unity of opposites; they oppose each other and yet complement each other. Only by strengthening the supervision of discipline and law can we better implement the policy of relaxation and harmony in questions of thinking and understanding and in academic and cultural questions.

There are also some comrades who worry that the stress on relaxation will slacken the party's leadership and will lower the leadership's role. They say: "Now the leaders have already lost control, and if relaxation is again stressed they will be forced to herd sheep." Here there is a question of a correct understanding of what leadership is and how it should be effected. On this question, there remains in the minds of some of our comrades a little influence of old ideas and concepts and of old work methods. In their view it seems that to lead one must manage people and keep them under control, that is, impose all sorts of restrictions on other people's thoughts and actions. They do not understand that leadership is a science, and that it is first off all a science of working on people's ideas. To be a good leader, one must master the laws of people's thinking and, with a definite object in view, put the work deep in their hearts, encouraging their spirits and arousing their enthusiasm. This is an important task in the four modernizations for our leaders at all levels, and is also an important characteristic of ideological and political work in the new period. Particularly under the conditions of socialism, people are not only members of society but also masters of the country. In leading people we must not engage in the practice of controlling, blocking, and exerting pressure on them, but rather must use the method of persuasion and education and the method of "dredging," dealing with them in a comradely-style attitude of equality. Among the masses of people, in the discussion of various questions, there are bound to appear different understandings and even opposing opinions. This not only is normal, but also is precisely a manifestation of the people's display of enthusiasm and initiative, speaking out freely, and daring to speak. It should be said that this is a good phenomenon. Lively discussion with everyone trying to get a word in, and getting everyone to talk, is always much better than a situation in which "not even a crow or sparrow can be heard"--silence reigns. In this discussion and contention of different opinions, to effect the party's leadership we must scientifically analyze, in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, the various opinions and views and provide positive guidance, so that

they are put on the healthy, correct track. Obviously, this kind of leadership is not slack but is strong. The role of this kind of leadership is not reduced but rather is raised higher. To achieve this, we must thoroughly implement the policy of relaxation and harmony, and strive to create an environment and atmosphere in which there are democracy, unity, friendship, mutual trust, and mutual understanding. In this sense, this policy precisely requires that our leading comrades at all levels learn scientific work attitudes and work methods, and raise leadership work to a higher level.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## POOR QUALITY OF IDEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS DECRIED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Mo Ming [1075 2494]: "Ideological Investigations and Studies Urgently Need Improvement and Strengthening"]

[Text] Launching ideological investigations, observing popular feelings and aspirations, and reporting the voice of the masses are an important part of the daily work of party and government departments, especially their ideological-political work branch. In recent years, amidst the vigorous trend to launch investigations and studies, we have expended much time and energy and made some achievements, but some problems have also been found.

1. Perfunctoriness and Intermittence. Some departments and units swarm forward the moment the higher level announces plans and assignments, but they put the matter aside when there are no plans and assignments. When launching investigations under higher-level assignments, they often use the minimum effort to collect superficial material to get by. Such perfunctoriness has created the phenomenon of "a gust of wind," making it impossible for the work to be regular and sustained. In addition, due to the absence of scientific means for the storage of information, investigations of different times are isolated and disconnected. The moment an investigation is concluded, some units shelve the information and have to start all over again next time. Not only does it duplicate the labor, but it becomes impossible to link the ideological conditions of the past with the present, analyze and compare them, and master the evolutionary laws of the people's thinking, or to make forecasts according to the laws.

2. Singularity of Means and Measures. The various ideological investigations launched today cannot depart from forums. Good forums are indeed the simplest, easiest, and most reliable way to gather information. Nevertheless, if we abandon all other avenues and rely only on forums, we will invariably limit the realms of investigation, fail to clarify the vivid ideas among the masses through multiple channels and by flexible and diverse means and methods, and thereby affect the quality and results of our investigations.

3. Vagueness and Subjectivity. In many ideological materials, we regularly come across such words as "the overwhelming majority," "some people," and "one or two." It does not mean that these words are totally unusable, but to

rely on such abstract and general terms, without fairly accurate quantitative analyses, our understanding of the people's thinking can only be vague and hazy. The lack of quantitative analysis will also lead to subjectivity. When report writers indicate that the main aspect is good, as the issue involves only the main aspect, they can find much corroborative material. When they indicate that the problem is serious and the situation discouraging, they can likewise find much corroborative material and write volumes on even the most bizarre and ludicrous viewpoints as the main aspect. This situation hampers our accurate assessment of the ideological conditions, blocks our purposefulness in ideological-political work, and even leads to deviations and mistakes.

4. Fragmentation and Disorganization. Ideological conditions are characterized by their large volume, broad areas, multiple categories, diverse levels, and rapid changes. In view of this, besides concentrated large-scale investigations, we must also rely on daily piecemeal investigative work and clarify the thinking in one aspect by one part of the people. However, such piecemeal material must be systematically analyzed and synthesized to make it comprehensive and systematic. One shortcoming in our work is that we are satisfied with piecemeal and incomplete information. Thus, our understanding of the people's ideological conditions is constantly halted in a disorderly and disorganized state, resulting in fragmentation due to the lack of systematic analyses. This lack also leads to another consequence: the investigative materials of the various branches and departments are used separately and fail to develop the effect of the whole. As the various branches and departments each have their own characteristics, it is normal for them to have their particular emphasis. However, what they study is often limited to a certain aspect or part of society, and adding up the parts is not equivalent to the whole. To clarify the ideological conditions of society as a whole, we must do a series of systematic analytical tasks, which is something often overlooked.

The problems discussed above are fairly common in our ideological investigative work. We should study them and strive to solve them in practice. Many units have recently begun to apply quantitative analysis in ideological investigations. Nevertheless, truly solving the problems and making ideological investigations catch up with practical needs constitute an extremely arduous task. We should further improve understanding, actively conduct scientific explorations, continuously raise the standard of ideological investigative work, make it truly into a "barometer" of the ideological climate, and give it a greater role in building the two civilizations.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## ELIMINATING LIFE TENURE IN CADRE SYSTEM REFORM DISCUSSED

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Long Zhiyi [7893 1807 3015]: "Making It Possible for Cadres To Go Up Or Down Is the Key to Pushing Reform of the Cadre Personnel System"]

[Text] The party and state are now making a series of reforms in every field. Whether each reform will succeed depends to a very large degree on reform of the cadre system. Making it possible for cadres to go up or down, and abrogating the existing life tenure system in leadership posts, is the key to the current reform of the cadre system. We all know that the policy set forth by the party Central Committee for leading groups of making them more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally more competent is a major reform of the original cadre system and of the standards for using people. Although the measures for the "four modernizations" of the leading groups are not yet completely perfected, the way of the "four modernizations" as a general principle has been set. Abrogating the existing life tenure system in leading posts, and making it possible for cadres who hold leading posts to go up or down, will accelerate the progress of the groups' "four modernizations," so that the leading groups at all levels normally maintain their vigor and vitality, are in the optimum state of being full of life, and better lead the masses of people to achieve the general task and general goal in the new period. From the long-term, dialectical viewpoint, the leading groups have a dynamic nature. They develop along with the situation and change along with the cadres' circumstances. It is normal and necessary that, while maintaining relative stability, there be regular partial and individual adjustments in them. If the life tenure system existing in the leadership posts is not changed, then the cadres will only be able to go up and not down, and only be able to go in and not out. Many "redundant personnel" and "redundant officials" will appear, and it will be impossible to achieve the "four modernizations" of the groups.

To solve the problem of going down, it is very important that the life tenure system in leadership posts be changed. The specific meaning of being able to go up or down is "going down." "Going down" contains two aspects: withdrawing from leadership posts when the age reaches the "walking cane" stage and withdrawing from leading groups when the age has not reached the "walking cane" stage. When someone reaches retirement age, to arrange for his withdrawal from his leadership post is now the basic system and approach. In recent years, there has been a number of comrades, at all levels and in all

departments who, after a fixed number of years in their posts, no longer hold actual leadership posts. Of course, there are individual veteran comrades who, because of work necessities, need to be left in their posts for a period of time. However, it may now be said that there is no way within the age of holding office (young and middle-aged cadres and those over 50 years old) to withdraw from leading groupos. The situation in the previous stage was: some comrades who did not work well in a given unit when transferred to another unit had to hold a post of an equal rank. When someone's leadership post was adjusted to the next lower level, brackets saying that he would retain X X-level treatment had to be put behind his name. For someone who, because of personal reasons, was selected to be sent down, separate arrangements had to be made for his post to be of equal rank, or at least he had to enjoy his original treatment. And so on and so forth. If this was not done, it was said to be a case of "not implementing policy." If these conditions are not changed but are carried on perpetually in the same way, the abrogation of the life tenure system in leadership posts and the elimination of its malpractices will never be achieved.

Then, which leading cadres who are within the age for holding office should be sent down? Can it be put this way? One type is the abnormal type of sending down, namely, leading cadres who have committed various kinds of mistakes and are no longer suitable to continue undertaking leadership work. It is comparatively easy to readjust these cadres, and there is fairly little resistance, but handling only this type does not solve the problem. The other is the normal type of sending down. From an analysis of the current situation among leading cadres, there are three main situations: Their strong points are not used, their abilities are not used, or they are not suitably used. There are some difficulties in the work of readjusting these cadres, mainly in the influence of old traditional concepts and in the comparative difficulty of getting a grip on standards.

Not using their strong points means that after some cadres with specialized skills enter the leading group, they go through a process of tempering for a certain time and then facts prove that they are not competent to do leadership work. From a look at the situation in the party and government leading groups in our province at the county level and above, we see that the greater part of the young and middle-aged cadres who have been selected for the leading groups are personnel with specialized skills at the county level. Among them, most were in the agricultural, forestry, educational, and public health specialities. According to a survey, after they take up leading posts, the majority of them transform their knowledge fairly quickly, changing their single knowledge structure to a comprehensive knowledge structure and changing technical-type knowledge to management-type knowledge. They quickly become competent in their current posts, and the work of many comrades is outstanding. However, a minority of the comrades really have difficulty in handling their current posts, and for a long time they are unable to open up the work situation. These comrades should be readjusted in a timely manner, letting them engage in certain specialities and display their strong points so that they make the best use of their talents. We do not deny that these comrades are talented persons; we only say that they are not talented persons in doing leadership work.

Not using their abilities means not adapting to their current posts in decision-making ability, coordination ability, and management ability. This type of cadre frequently has not been tempered in a definite sequence or, although he has been tempered in a definite sequence, he has gone up too fast, and thus needs to go down a step or be again tempered at the basic level. By going down for a certain time of tempering, some comrades, because they have diligently studied in practice, have the courage to keep forging ahead, and also could be selected for a higher level leadership post. In addition, some comrades are mediocre in various aspects, do not adapt to their current posts, do not have much potential, and, after being sent down from their leadership posts, do work within their power. This is also a case of each person being in his proper place, and should be regarded as a normal phenomenon.

Not being used suitably means that they are not suited to their work environment. Some comrades who are suited to basic-level work find it hard to adapt when they join leadership organizations; some who go to technical departments from administrative departments, or vice versa, do not adapt, and so forth. In order that work will not be adversely affected, the necessary adjustments should be made for these comrades based on specific circumstances.

We should clearly understand that making it possible for the cadres to go up or down is the path we must take, and that it has now become an extremely urgent issue in the reform of the cadre personnel system. To do this work well, I think we now should put emphasis on the following several aspects:

1. Thoroughly change some old concepts. Because of the influence of the force of habit and the feudal consciousness, there have been formed in people's minds some senses of right and wrong, honor and disgrace, and rank that are detrimental to the normal up or down movement of cadres. They unanalytically relate a cadre's movement up with "honor" and "glory," and relate his movement down as "dishonor" and "inglory," thinking that the higher the official position the greater the worth of the person, and the lower the official position the smaller the worth of the person. These views are extremely one-sided. There is now a stress on a kind of "psychology about caring about being an official." I think that this caring about is precisely only the traditional incorrect psychology about "becoming an official." Through strengthening propaganda and doing good public opinion work, we must get rid of all sorts of incorrect concepts among all the cadres and masses, and firmly implant in them the correct sense of right and wrong, sense of honor and disgrace, and sense of worth. As a leading cadre, one should make the interests of the party and the state the premise and subordinate oneself to the needs of the party's cause, and should not consider individual gain or loss. If the party's cause requires that one go up then one goes up; if it requires that one go down then one goes down. This movement up or down should be regarded as a normal phenomenon. This then will be beneficial to one's own healthy maturation, and one will be able to say that one is with practical action abrogating the life tenure system in leadership posts. The great number of cadres and masses must regard being a leading cadre as a kind of complex labor, and those who are leading cadres ought to be respected. They also must understand that whoever, under the socialist system, does creative labor is a person who contributes to the party's cause. No matter whether he

holds a leadership post or not, he is honorable and similarly should receive respect. They must not think that only by being an official does one get honor. That is to say, through propaganda we must gradually achieve a change in a fundamental concept, namely, the concept of people's worth.

2. The system of distribution according to work must be perfected. In the arrangement of salaries this time, it is rational for cadres who have newly gone up after the reform of their organizations, to stipulate what posts they will hold, what their post salaries will be, and what salaries they will get at their new posts when they change posts. The problem now is that there should be a relative symmetry with other trades and professions, and, based on the differences in every person's division of work and the size of his contribution, his remuneration should be rationally determined. At present, in our salary system we are making efforts in this direction, and further arrangements and perfection of it are pending. There are some irrational phenomena in actual life. For example, in the past some intellectuals, whose ability and political integrity were very good, worked in organizations for 20 or 30 years at very low salaries. In the past several years, stress has been put on promoting intellectuals. Some college students who have gone to work have been promoted to county- and office-level cadres, and even to prefecture- and department-level cadres, and their salaries have gone up correspondingly, while persons who have remained in schools and scientific research units have found it very difficult to get middle-level or high-level technical or professional titles, etc. All of these are temporary phenomena that have appeared under specific historical conditions. We need, through a complete set of reforms in the salary system, cadre system, and technical and professional title system, to seek a systematic solution in this regard.

3. Appointment and dismissal of cadres must be legislated, and the examination and management of cadres must be made scientific. At every link in the cadres' movement up and down, there must be set up perfected, rational systems to follow. There are now some tentative systems for the appointment and dismissal of cadres, like the selection system and the term of office system, but, generally speaking, they are inadequate. Work in this respect must be further explored. New methods of examining cadres should also be constantly explored. For example, we must explore the question of whether the method of measuring and assessing a cadre's political integrity, ability, diligence, and achievements by combining qualitative and quantitative standards can be universally practiced.

Now, the reform of the cadre system, like the reform of the economic system, is in a period when the new system is replacing the old system. The new concepts and new system are playing their roles, and the outmoded system and concepts are also still playing their roles. Under these circumstances, the correct attitude should be to explore while engaging in practice and to advance amid explorations. We certainly must not adopt a wait-and-see attitude, waiting until the central authorities have stipulated everything before we get going. That would be an incorrect attitude.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## ELIMINATING UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES TO IMPROVE PARTY STYLE

Lhasa XIZANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Apr 86 p 4

[Article by Wang Chongshou [3769 1504 1108]: "Dare To Touch the Tiger's Rump"]

[Text] After deciding on the topic, I became tongue-tied and bewildered. Right at the start of the Year of the Tiger, those offering eulogies to the tiger follow on one another's heels. All at once, radio, television, newspapers, and the stage seem to have set off a burst of "tiger fever," surging with an uncontrollable momentum. Yet you have the nerve to stroke the tiger's whiskers and throw cold water! Is it not somewhat "too much"?

To be sure, the tiger is the king of all beasts, its fame known to every woman and child. Nevertheless, the "unhealthy tendencies" among tigers also cause concern. What is more, "baring fangs and brandishing claws and tyrannizing," the tiger's "notoriety" terrifies and enrages people!

Party style investigation at this time has spread to the issue of cadre work style, abuses in organs, and serious violations of law and discipline in society. How can the situation not make one worry upon seeing the "tiger" and ponder deeply?

Please look, the work style of some organs, departments, trades, and courts gives the impression that it is difficult to enter the "tiger gate." The masses complain: "Affairs are hard to handle, facial expressions are disagreeable, and the little devils are hard to see." Some "usurp hilltops," abusing their functions and power, setting up roadblocks in many ways, demanding and accepting bribes, and entrapping the people. The least lack of "respect" brings all kinds of "difficulties," and one cannot extricate oneself without paying for "safe transit." Some of them exercise joint control and bring harm to the state. Suppressing their rage, many units and people find it difficult to swallow the bitter pill of such evil tendencies and unlawful acts.

Some cadres, even leaders, always deem themselves "king." "I am number one." Conceited and arbitrary, they are unable to tolerate views different from their own and words unpleasant to the ear, and become enraged upon hearing criticisms or having their "scars" touched. Others only want special considerations from the organization, not its discipline, persisting in their

old ways and brooking no interference, assuming the stance of "don't touch the tiger's rump."

Some party members and cadres follow a despotic work style and use abusive language at every turn, bringing the feared and detested "mother tiger" work style into organs and the party. One should ask: Is it not sad when a party cadre turns himself into a senseless abusive village shrew?

A passage in "Xunzi Dalue" reads: "When the emperor employs jealous ministers, competent people stay away." Likewise, when there are tigers in the mountain, will tourists come? According to a common saying, a mountain cannot accommodate two tigers. As the legend says, when a tiger "has completed its apprenticeship," it will no longer tolerate its "tutor" and has to kill it. All these prove that even tigers have the fatal weakness of "jealousy of the competent and able."

Though the "tiger style," namely, "unhealthy tendencies," discussed above is found in certain individuals and certain organs, departments, and trades, it damages within a certain sphere the image of the party, affects its prestige among the people, and becomes a "negative factor," or obstacle, in reform.

According to Comrade Chen Yun, party style is a life-and-death issue of the ruling party. Each and every party member, cadre, and party work department must give it his earnest attention, without the least bit of negligence. When the party style is not upright, how can there be reform?

The Xizang Autonomous Region party committee called a mobilization mass meeting of regional organs to rectify the party style, appealed to the vast numbers of party members, especially leaders, throughout the region to take the lead in achieving a basic improvement, and pointed out the serious problems in the region's party style today. One can say that "beating the mountain to shake the tiger" was an endeavor to reach the comrades with serious problems and awaken them to reality.

Here, what must be given special attention is that, regardless of their position and backing, the "vicious tigers," namely, serious economic criminals utilizing reform and their power to enrich themselves and violators of law and discipline endangering the life and security of the people, absolutely must not be permitted to remain beyond the law and continue to act like tyrants. We must severely and ruthlessly crack down on them. The executions of major criminals in Shanghai, including the three "vicious tigers" recently and the "two bears" a few years ago, have given the people immense satisfaction. Historical legends of heroes killing tigers, such as Li Guang, Qia Zhuang, Zhou Chu, Li Kui, and Wu Song, all indicate that people regard "tigers" as a danger and desire their eradication.

All upright party members must unite and serve as models in the basic improvement of Xizang's party style. We advise party members and cadres confused by unhealthy tendencies to sober up as soon as possible and no longer serve as "stumbling blocks" to reform, and we warn criminals who are seriously violating the law and discipline against obstinately sticking to their wrong course. If they persist in their own ways, their future will be like the tigers killed by heroes in the legends.

NORTHEAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## HARBIN FOCUSES ON '4 KEY LINKS' AT TOWNSHIP LEVEL

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 86 p 1

[Text] Today (17 March 86) the party consolidation office of the municipal CPC committee and the leading groups for village party consolidation held a report-back meeting on party consolidation at the township level.

Five units--Daoli Prefecture, Hulan County, Ashihe Town of Acheng County, Dongfeng Town of Taiping Prefecture, and Wanbao Town of Daowai Prefecture--reported how they carried out party consolidation tasks at the township level. The leading cadres in the municipal CPC committee attended and spoke at the meeting.

The meeting concluded that ever since it began in late February, the township-level party consolidation in our city has shown great momentum. Under the leadership of municipal, district, and county CPC committees, major leading cadres have paid close attention to preparation, have coordinated study and reform, and have achieved the breakthrough point in the rectification of party discipline. However, it was obvious that many cadres still maintained the substandard opinion that this was "party rectification under orders." Some while studying "sat and discussed theory" and could not solve real problems. Some were eager to "fish for dry goods" and ignored the depth of their study.

The meeting pointed out that party consolidation at the township level will be a difficult task if it is to be completed in the first half of this year. Therefore, we must increase our pace, guarantee the quantity and quality of our work, and focus on the "four links." First, we must take a close look at reality, then investigate and do research, in order to grasp the reality of our party conduct and work to clear up the economics and investigating cases. Second, we must solve the problem of a leading body by evaluating the progressiveness of the body according to whether it can uphold the party cause and solve the major problems exposed by the people. Third, on the basis of exposing improper party conduct, we must smash the trammels of using connections and, no matter who is involved, be strict and impartial with party discipline in order to carry through the rectification. Fourth, we must strengthen members' awareness of the party spirit throughout the party consolidation in order to play the exemplary role of a Communist and increase the fighting capacity of the party organization.

The meeting emphasized that township-level party consolidation should currently stress the rectification of party conduct. In the learning stage, we must make "study, investigation, correction, and reconstruction" a coordinated process and focus on solving the five unhealthy tendencies such as giving dinners or sending gifts to curry favor; squandering or stealing public funds, goods, and land; fabricating orders to coerce orders; extorting peasants' wealth under all sorts of pretexts; and engaging in bribery and blackmail. After the study period ends we must spend time focusing on rectifying and improving those units with the most problems and the least improvement.

Last, considering that the village is in the busy planting season and that party consolidation is also in a tense period of study and rectification, the meeting asked leading cadres of each district and county to keep clear heads. Using party consolidation as the motive force, they must correctly relate party consolidation with reform and production and do a good job of reform, production, construction, etc.

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NORTHEAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## LEADING BODY GROUP EXAMINATION RECOMMENDED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporters Li Jundi [2621 6511 0966] and Jia Naiying [6328 6621 5391]: "Thoroughly Carry out the Examination of the Leading Body Group; Comrade Li Genshen [2621 2704 3234] Presented Four Suggestions: We Must Take into Consideration the Opening of New Prospects; We Must Stress Individual Characteristics, Aiming at Specifics, Without Generalizing; We Must Sum up Our Experiences and Lessons Seriously; We Must Widen Our Horizons, Diligently Learn Something More, and Discover the Breakthrough Point"]

[Text] This afternoon (27 March 86), the leading cadres involved in party consolidation in Acheng County, Hulan County, and every prefecture attended a conference for members of the Taiping Prefecture standing committee on the leading body group examination. The municipal CPC committee secretary, Comrade Li Genshen, attended and spoke at the meeting.

First, leading body group examination must take into consideration the making of breakthroughs. Collective examination differs from individual examination. Individual examination is for examining one's party spirit, conduct, and discipline. The individual must have ideological depth and be strict in appraising himself. Collective examination is mainly for looking into the whole task and for examining party construction and the economy, operation, and ideology of the leading body group. Unifying the ideology of both the leading body and cadres with examination can form a more systematic and holistic approach when we attempt to solve the major problems facing our unit and region. Second, leading body group examination must stress one's own characteristics, aim at specifics, and avoid being general. Looking back and summing up past work carefully, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we must thoroughly analyze every major problem we ran into in the past. In phrasing defects, we must present the unique problems existing in each unit so that people will not be confused with other units' problems. To put the problems in general wording will make the examination easier to pass but will not solve the problems. The key to a good analysis of each unit's work, contingent, ideology, and discipline is seriousness. Third, leading body group examination must sum up experiences and lessons seriously. Be bold and do not hold back while looking for problems in the past. To spot a problem or discrepancy is not to reject a person or group's achievement, but rather is to develop our cause and progress further. Fourth, the leading body

group examination must widen one's horizon to learn and discover the breakthrough point. This is the theme. Before the examination, we must study the document on party consolidation carefully, particularly delving into documents on reform to grasp the gist of the central authority. Meanwhile, we must widen our fields of vision both vertically and horizontally in order to recognize clearly our route and working range. Younger comrades in the leading body especially should dare to blaze new trails. To open up a new era, we must promote those new people who have good character and talent. We in our fifties should pay attention to helping those who lag behind.

Comrade Li Genshen emphasized that the examination must not be superficial. Especially at the next stage we must not be lax but instead pay close attention to the investigation and prosecution of major crimes.

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## PAPER CALLS FOR PROTECTION OF REFORMERS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Zhao Fu [6392 7079]: "Take Effective Measures to Protect Reformers"]

[Text] At present, there are strong appeals in the press for protection for reformers. This is a good thing. If the reformers are doing well, giving no cause for people to worry, and everything is satisfactory, then there is no reason for people to make such an appeal. It is regrettable that some reformers, especially those who have achieved successes but also made mistakes, are now in a rather difficult situation. Some have been suspended from duties for self-examination, others have been dismissed from office, and a few have been thrown in jail. How can the reforms be continued if the situation is not improved promptly for the reformers?

We must understand that protecting the reformers is not just a question of protecting a few good comrades. The reformers are advanced representatives of the new productive forces. In essence, protection of the reformers means protection of the new productive forces. The reformers stand in the forefront of the reform. Fundamentally speaking, to protect the reformers is to protect the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses for reform. The reformers have already achieved remarkable results. Generally speaking, protecting the reformers means protecting the hard-won results of reform. The matter is of vital importance and must not be treated lightly.

How can the reformers be effectively protected?

The reformers' achievements must be fully affirmed. Achievements should be attributed first to the party, next to the people (first of all the masses in the unit concerned), and last to the individual. All this is correct. But, the reformers played a part, and their contributions cannot be denied. The problem now is, everyone but the reformers is credited for the achievements, and no one but the reformers are blamed for the mistakes. This is unfair and hardly convincing. To protect the active reformers, it is necessary to put an end immediately to gratuitous investigations of enterprises which have achieved successes in reform. This decision of the Fuzhou Municipal CPC Committee has won immense popular support and is worthy of emulation.

The reformers must be allowed to make mistakes. There is now an unhealthy trend. Anyone is allowed to make mistakes, except reformers who must not make any mistake. The same shortcomings and mistakes, dismissed as insignificant normally, become serious issues if they have anything to do with reformers. This, too, is obviously unfair. As the old Chinese sayings go, "Men are not saints, how can they be free from faults?" and "Even the wise are not always free from error." Reform is a kind of exploration. Exploration involves risk-taking, and errors are unavoidable. One cannot become "perfect" just because one is dedicated to the cause of reform. Mistakes are caused by many reasons, some due to lack of experience, others due to failure to draw clear lines of demarcation in applying a policy, and still others due to flaws in personal qualities. Mistakes should not be regarded as purely negative things. People learn how to reform from mistakes and shortcomings. When reformers have shortcomings or make mistakes, we should not keep blaming them, much less elevate minor shortcomings or mistakes to the level of principles. Instead, we should try to help them, adopting the approach of "curing the sickness to save the patient." According to our party's tradition, it is all right to make mistakes so long as they are corrected. This question is very simple, why should it be made so complicated?

Those who make false charges against reformers must be stopped. There are those people who are unable to accomplish anything but are likely to spoil everything. They cannot do anything for reform, except making trouble. They are no good at anything, except hurting others. They sent "accusations" and "anonymous letters" and put up "small-character posters" everywhere, leading the leadership by the nose into time-consuming investigations on trifles. Lacking common sense, some muddle-headed leaders readily believed the trumped-up charges and dispatched one investigation team after another. People were scared and worried about their safety. But these leaders would not stop until they succeeded in humiliating the advanced people who courageously worked for reform and in making enterprises which had begun to show a profit to lose money again. Therefore, only by punishing those making false charges can the reformers be protected. It's about time we put an end to the plight of the reformers and the smugness of the false accusers. Let's make the false accusers, who hide in dark corners and shoot poisoned arrows at the reformers, pay for their despicable behavior.

The cases in which reformers have been treated unfairly must be handled properly. Just as it is hard for reformers to avoid mistakes, it is also difficult for leading comrades to avoid making mistakes in dealing with reformers. However, when they find out that wrong appraisals have been made on some reformers, they should step forward courageously and speak out on their behalf. If the reformers have already been handled unfairly, it is necessary to act promptly and decisively to put them back to work so that they can return to the forefront of reform and continue to make contributions. Here, irresolution and hesitation can make a bad situation worse.

The cause of reform has just begun to develop. By caring for the reformers ideologically and adopting measures to protect them, we can strengthen people's determination and confidence in reform and insure its smooth progress.

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## NEED FOR TOLERANCE AMONG COMRADES STRESSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Bai Fangming [4101 2455 2494]: "Put the Stress on Tolerance"]

[Text] To create a relaxed environment for reform, one condition is indispensable, that is, in the handling of relations among comrades, stress must be placed on tolerance.

To be tolerant means not to nitpick and demand perfection. Because everyone in this world has shortcomings and mistakes. The more things we do, the more mistakes we make; the greater our responsibilities are, the more likely it will be that we will make mistakes. Take the reformers for example. A factory manager has to shoulder great responsibilities, and he has to do many things, including major and minor tasks. We must exercise tolerance when dealing with mistakes by reformers. Tolerance means understanding and support, trusting them to correct their own mistakes in practice and succeed in their work.

To be tolerant means not to intensify contradictions. There was a theory in the past, which maintains that a contradiction must be intensified before it can be solved. The "cultural revolution" was a full-scale practice of this theory. What was the result? The contradictions were not solved, but multiplied and intensified. Chaos set in, and the situation got out of hand. Experience has proven that the theory of solving contradictions by intensifying them is not an absolute truth. Contradictions can also be solved nicely by mitigation and harmonization. In the course of reform, we will come across many new contradictions, most of which should be solved by mitigation and not by artificial intensification. This is because our goals are the same, and it is normal for people with the same goal to have different opinions in work and understanding. Some mistakes in reform and flaws in some reformers' thinking and work style do not form antagonistic contradictions with the people's fundamental interests. It is wrong to overreact to these problems and put a political label on people at will. This kind of overreaction will not help the reform, but will lead to new frame-ups, false accusations and wrong sentences. Those who intensify contradictions which should not be intensified to show their own "revolutionary character" and "fighting spirit" are not doing any good for the party and the people's cause. Therefore, in the

handling of contradictions among the people, it is absolutely necessary to stress tolerance.

To be tolerant means not to elevate minor mistakes or shortcomings to the level of principles. In dealing with comrades' shortcomings and mistakes, we should seek truth from facts and act without bias. Some reformers are still suffering from those who are in the habit of exaggerating others' mistakes. These people turn a blind eye to the reformers' great achievements, but seize on their minor mistakes ad refuse to let go. As a result, the reformers are forced to put reform aside temporarily in order to defend themselves, wasting time and energy for nothing. It seems that unless an end is put to the practice of elevating minor shortcomings or mistakes to the level of principles, it is difficult to have a relaxed environment.

To be tolerant means not to fix people. The party's policy is clear: Whether it is consolidating the party organization or rectifying the party style, there is no reason for everyone to make a self-criticism so as to pass the test. Rectification of party style is not to make people suffer. But some of our comrades always want to fix somebody whenever they have a chance. Probably it is a bad habit formed under many years of the influence of the "leftist" line. It is hard to change and seems in conflict with today's current of reform. In the years of reform, there are too many things worth doing. It is better for everyone to think more about the great cause of the four modernizations, pay more attention to getting things done than to fixing people, and do more solid work for the country and the people.

In short, to be tolerant means to thoroughly abandon the erroneous principle of "taking class struggle as the key link. We should put the emphasis on the overall interests and unity. We should know particularly how to unite with comrades whose opinions about work and whose understanding of things differ from our own in order to bring everyone's enthusiasm into play, turn negative factors into positive ones, and guide the attention of the whole party and all the people onto the four modernizations drive. To be tolerant means to reform the idealist and metaphysical mode of thinking with the scientific way of thinking. We cannot do as we please in dealing with people's achievements and errors. To be tolerant does not mean to do away with ideological struggle, principles and discipline, and much less to abolish the legal system. On the contrary, it means to uphold law and discipline and that all men are equal before party discipline and the law. Those who deliberately make people suffer and attack or frame others, causing losses to the party's cause, should also be judged by party discipline and the law and learn a lesson. Law-breakers must be punished by law.

Finally, it should be pointed out that putting the stress on tolerance does not mean that tolerance should be made the absolute standard. In dealing with various types of criminal activities which endanger the socialist cause, it is imperative that those who should be severely punished are severely punished. Tolerance to criminals means cruelty to the people. Punishment of criminals is also necessary for creating a sound social environment for the four modernizations drive. It is not contradictory to the purpose of this article.

Let's learn to be tolerant. If this can also be considered a conceptual reform, I dare say that the establishment of this new concept will mean that we have made a clean break with the "remaining influence of the cultural revolution."

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## OBSERVATION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION LAW URGED

Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Do a Good Job in Implementing the Compulsory Education Law"]

[Text] The Compulsory Education Law becomes effective 1 July this year. The formulation and implementation of the Compulsory Education Law is a major event in the history of education in China, an important measure of great strategic significance to the future of the country and the people.

Universal compulsory education is an important sign of modern civilization, a basic link in the development of intellectual resources and training of competent people of the Chinese nation. Vigorous promotion of universal basic education will have an important and far-reaching influence on the training of competent people in all fields and at all levels, the improvement of the cultural quality of the entire nation and the development of the two civilizations. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out not long ago that the four modernizations drive is faced with many difficulties, but only two are of utmost seriousness: the lack of knowledge and the shortage in trained manpower. If we want to catch up with the world's developed countries by the middle of the next century, we must begin universal education now, not only universal primary education but universal 9-year compulsory education. Vice Premier Wan Li pointed out that if by 1995 we can make 9-year compulsory education universal in the coastal areas, plus some cities and economically more developed areas in the interior, and have a suitable proportion of students going on to senior middle schools and colleges, we will have an intellectual advantage, and this intellectual advantage can be translated into technological, product and economic superiority. Therefore, strengthening basic education is laying the necessary groundwork for vigorous economic development, the indispensable precondition for achieving the goals of China's four modernizations drive.

The central and provincial governments are determined to implement the Compulsory Education Law, and the municipal (prefectural), county and township governments should also make up their minds. The education departments should work hard, and all parts of society should give energetic support, and not regard it as something which concerns only the education

departments. The Compulsory Education Law is education legislation adopted by the highest organ of state power, which the entire society must follow and must not violate. The law defines in clear and specific terms the obligations of the state, society, school and family. The state and society should provide the conditions for every child to receive the number of years of basic education as stipulated by law, and society should support and subsidize the implementation of the Compulsory Education Law. School grounds, buildings and equipment may not be seized or destroyed; no social units or individuals may hire children of compulsory education age but not attending schools; school education should be designed for all the students in all the schools to develop in an all-round way; and every citizen must send his school-age children to school to receive a specific level of compulsory education as stipulated by law.

To implement the Compulsory Education Law, it is necessary to do good publicity work to solve problems of understanding and increase the whole nation's consciousness of the law. In addition, there are two key problems that must be solved.

1. It is necessary to raise funds for education through many channels. In addition to funds allocated for basic education by the central government, which will increase gradually, local governments should also set aside a specific amount from their reserve funds for compulsory education, insuring more funds to come from both sources. Revenue of townships should be used mainly on compulsory education. A good job should be done in collecting additional taxes to meet the operating expenses of urban and rural schools. Vigorous efforts should be made to develop the work-study program and increase economic returns, using the proceeds to improve school conditions and collective welfare of teachers and students. All social circles and individuals are encouraged to donate funds to schools on a voluntary basis and according to their abilities.

2. It is necessary to mobilize the forces from all quarters and adopt various effective measures to build a qualified and stable teaching force which is sufficient in number and rationally structured in fields of specialization in about 15 years' time. The localities should carefully analyze the conditions of the ranks of basic education teachers and adopt training measures. To really improve teacher education, it is necessary to increase investment in teacher education and improve school conditions. It is necessary to strengthen in-service training and advanced studies for teachers. It is necessary to stabilize the existing teacher force by really improving the teachers' social status and increasing their wages. Firm measures should be adopted to make sure that graduates from higher and secondary teacher schools go to work on the frontline of education, and they should not be recruited for other jobs.

In implementing the Compulsory Education Law, the localities on the one hand should have a sense of historical responsibility and urgency, place it on the agenda of party committees and governments and study it seriously. On the other hand, they should not blindly compete with each other, seeking high speed and setting high targets, but lowering standards of education.

It is necessary to seek truth from facts, proceed from the actual conditions, draw up implementation plans based on the actual situation of local economic development, and make the greatest possible efforts to implement the Compulsory Education Law in a down-to-earth way.

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## HEILONGJIANG IMPLEMENTS POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 86 p 4

[Text] The inspection and acceptance of the results of the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals in Heilongjiang Province was concluded earlier this month. The inspection shows that all problems left over from history in this province, which should be settled according to policy stipulations, have been settled based on appeals made by the people concerned through relevant organizations, thus completing the task way ahead of the convocation of the 13th CPC National Congress, the target date set by the CPC Central Committee. At present, the emphasis has shifted to creating conditions for the intellectuals to bring their roles into full play.

According to a GUANGMING RIBAO report, good progress was made in implementing the policy toward intellectuals in Heilongjiang. By 1984, 99 percent of the problems left over from history were solved. However, little progress was made in the following year. The reason was that the remaining problems involved more departments and were more difficult to solve. And, more important, some people were satisfied with doing a "basically" "passable job" and lacked the spirit to seek out the truth. In view of this situation, the provincial party committee in November last year called for concentration of time and efforts to accomplish the task within a definite period of time, striving to solve all the problems and leave behind nothing unresolved. The provincial party committee adopted some unusual measures. The unsettled problems were divided among leading cadres who were charged with full responsibility for solutions. A list of the leading cadres charged with this task was distributed to the localities, and a time limit was set for completion of the task. In dealing with the long-standing, big and difficult problems, the leading cadres personally invited the departments concerned to consultation meetings or on-the-spot work sessions to find solutions to the long-unresolved problems. To avoid missing anything, measures were taken to mobilize the masses to recall the past, solicit opinions from all sides, have people fill out a registration form on policy implementation, and so forth, to locate the missing cases and solve them completely and thoroughly. Because the leadership personally took charge and the relevant departments closely cooperated, not only were the long-standing, big and difficult problems solved, but no problems which should be solved according to policy were

missed, even without appeals from the people concerned and from their organization.

At the end of the last year, the provincial party committee laid down nine standards on solving problems left over from history and specific inspection and acceptance procedures, defining in specific and clear-cut terms the objects, content, scope and methods of the implementation of the policy. The provincial party committee dispatched more than 170 persons in 19 work teams to various localities and organizations directly under the provincial party committee, where they openly received visitors and made door-to-door calls to implement the policy. Wherever they went, the work teams always issued "public notices" through local newspapers and radio broadcasts to publicize the policy, report on the current situation and encourage intellectuals with unresolved problems left over from history to call on them. Their action brought strong reactions from the intellectuals. The number of problems left over from history on record in the province suddenly increased from some 200 cases to more than 1,000. The number of problems increased, but the work style also changed, and problems were solved faster. In the first 8 months of the last year, some 150 problems left over from history were solved in the province, but since the work teams were sent to the localities, more than 600 cases were solved in just 1 month.

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NORTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## CIRCULAR PROMISES CLEMENCY FOR THIEVES WHO SURRENDER

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Xiao Youzhi [5135 2589 1807]: "Urging Thieves To Surrender"]

[Text] Recently, the province's higher court, procuratorate, public security department, and judicial department issued a "joint notice on severely cracking down on the activities of thieves," in which thieves were urged to give themselves up in order to receive lenient treatment.

The "circular" pointed out that criminals who steal, harbor stolen goods, dispose of stolen goods, receive stolen goods, or transport stolen goods must get a clear understanding of the situation, realize their errors, mend their ways, immediately stop doing evil, as fast as possible give themselves up to their local public security organ or the security department in their unit, and make a clean breast of their crimes in order to receive lenient treatment. Those who give themselves up before 20 August, no matter the number, size, or seriousness of their crimes, provided they confess the full facts, expose and denounce the criminal activities of other persons, actively return what they have unlawfully taken or pay compensation for it, and guarantee never to repeat their crime, may receive light, mitigated, or no punishment at all. Those who surrender themselves for other criminal acts will be similarly treated according to the abovementioned principles. With regard to those who are being reformed through labor, those who are being reformed through education, and others who are in detention, if they confess to crimes that were not originally discovered, they will generally not be punished for them; those who have behaved meritoriously may have their sentences commuted, be released on parole, or be relieved from labor or education ahead of time.

The "circular" points out that strict punishment will resolutely be meted out to those criminals who conclude agreements with partners in crime not to give each other away, who divert stolen goods, who destroy evidence of a crime, who even make retaliatory strikes on those who report crimes, and who continue their thieving activities. At the same time, those who do not report the facts of a criminal case, who harbor, cover up for, and connive with criminals will be seriously investigated and dealt with according to law.

The "circular" also points out that all enterprises and undertakings, all school and organization units, particularly secondhand shops, treatment and

refining plants, and salvage stations (points), must strictly abide by the state's policies and degrees, and conscientiously implement all security and guard measures. With regard to those who buy goods illegally or who, knowing that the goods are stolen, still buy them or buy them for someone else, they will be seriously dealt with and an investigation will be pursued until the responsibility for the crime is affixed. With regard to units that neglect guard work and thus allow the state's and the collective's property to be stolen, leading to serious losses, based upon the situation regarding the losses, there will be an investigation to affix the responsibility of the leaders in charge and the person with direct responsibility. With regard to those who neglect their duty and are guilty of malfeasance, they will be investigated according to law and the responsibility for the crime affixed.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

## ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY ANALYZED

Taipei CHUNG-KUNG YEN-CHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 20 No 8, 15 Aug 86 pp 83-90

[Article by Wang Hsien [3769 6897]: "Analysis of the Chinese Communists' Establishment of a 'National Defense University'"]

[Text] I. Foreword

In coordination with its policy of "streamlining and reorganization," the Chinese communists' armed forces on 30 November last year (1985) announced in Peiping that the three high-level command academies directly under the CPC's "Central Military Commission"--the Military Academy, Political Academy, and Logistics Academy--would be merged into a "National Defense University." On 15 January this year (1986), the CPC's "Central Military Commission," at the assembly hall of the former "Military Academy," held a "flag presentation" ceremony, formally completing the merger work.

The communist army's newly established "National Defense University" is the highest military institution of higher learning, and is under the leadership of the "Central Military Commission," which in turn is directly under the CPC. It is also the educational institution for the highest level cadres in the communist army's three-level training system--primary, middle, and high. Its principal task is to train Army, Navy, and Air Force high-level military, political, and logistics command cadres; high-level staff personnel of the three services; high-level theoretical research personnel; and leading cadres in the CPC Central Committee and in local relevant departments. It also engages in research on relevant strategic and "national defense modernization" questions. At the same time, it is an advisory unit for the policy-making bodies--the CPC's "Central Military Commission" and the "three general departments."

The communist army's establishment of the "National Defense University" is one of the significant measures in the present stage of the reform of the educational system of the communist army's academies and colleges. Its relationship to the communist army's future training of high-level command and staff personnel with modern knowledge is significant. Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492], secretary general of the CPC's "Central Military Commission," has called it "a major event of strategic significance." (1)

## II. Process of Establishment

The Chinese communist armed forces' establishment of high-level command academies and colleges can be traced back to the early stage of the Chinese communists' armed rebellion, namely, not long after the Chinese communists entered the "Central Soviet Area" in 1931. On the basis of the original "training units," a "Central Red Army School" was set up.

Afterward, following the gradual expansion of this school, in 1935 the Chinese communists' "Central Red Army School" changed its name into the "Central Workers and Peasants Red Army University." One 1 June 1936, the name was again changed, this time to the "Chinese Anti-Japanese Red Army University." In January 1937, the name was changed to the "Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political University" (short form, "Anti-Japanese Military and Political University" or "Anti-Japanese University"). Branches of the university were set up in various "bases." In the period of the Chinese communists' all-out rebellion, the name was again changed, this time to the "Military and Political University." Its mission and nature were the same as those of the "Central Red Army School" in the early period.

After the establishment of the Chinese communist regime, in July 1950 the Chinese communists held a "regular meeting of the Military Commission," which decided that the communist army must first of all establish a comprehensive army university, and which instructed all service arms to set up various types of specialized schools. On 15 January 1951, in accordance with the policy for running the "Anti-Japanese University" (2), the communist army established the "Military Academy" with Liu Bocheng [0491 0184 2110] as its commandant and concurrently political commissar, which was responsible for training middle- and high-level command cadres. Afterward, in line with the "headquarters, political and logistics" command system, the communist army set up the "Political Academy" and "Logistics Academy." This was the origin of the communist army's three high-level command academies.

During the "Cultural Revolution" the communist army's academies and colleges were sabotaged. In September 1970, the communist army merged the "Military Academy," "Political Academy," and "Logistics Academy" into the "Military and Political University," thereby restoring the system of the "Anti-Japanese University" of the past, and making it the advanced educational and training organization for training cadres in the communist army at the division level and above. But not much attention was paid to the "Military and Political University" after the change, and the number of its students fell. Therefore, in March 1978 the communist army abolished the "Military and Political University" and restored the pre-"Cultural Revolution" system of the "Military Academy," "Political Academy," and "Logistics Academy." It also increased the number of teaching classes and the number of students enrolled in the three academies. However, this educational system of the communist army's still had many defects. Xiao Ke [5618 0344], former commandant of the "Military Academy," at a "meeting of party members and cadres in the first stage of party consolidation," announced: "From now until 1990, there will be a period of important adjustment of the Military Academy, and during this adjustment reforms will be carried out in a planned and measured way." (3) He suggested that the communist army had already begun to carry out the plan of

merging the high-level command academies. At the same time, the "three general departments" of the communist army and the three high-level command academies sent representatives to America, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy to observe and study conditions in these countries. In the advanced countries they studied the organizational pattern, educational facilities, and teaching content of the highest military institutions of higher education as reference for matters concerning the planned merger of the three high-level command academies. In July 1985, Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807], "chief of staff" of the communist army, at the "graduation ceremony for Military Academy's Class of 1985," asserted: "Reforms of the army's system of academies and colleges, and the work of streamlining and reorganization, are about to be started in succession step by step." (4) He revealed that the plan for the merger of the three high-level command academies had already been completed. On 30 November of the same year, the CPC's "Central Military Commission" issued orders for the principal personnel of the "National Defense University." At this point the work of merging the three high-level command academies came to the end of a stage.

The site of the newly established "National Defense University" of the communist army is the old site of the former "Military Academy," and its branches are on the old site of the former "Political Academy."

### III. Principal Goals

The purpose of the Chinese communists in establishing the "National Defense University" can be understood from the following several aspects.

A. Correct errors in the educational goals of the high-level command academies. In the past the training classes offered by the communist army's "Military Academy," "Political Academy," and "Logistics Academy" all made training in each one's speciality primary and there was no training in other specialities. For example, the Military Academy only emphasized training in military command capabilities, and there was no training in politics and logistics. Therefore, one of the communist army's purposes in establishing the "National Defense University" was to correct this error in educational goal. Just as the Chinese communists themselves said: "The persons trained by this school--the National Defense University--should be all-round talents in military, political, and logistics work." (5)

B. Coordinate the communist army's "reform of the system" with "streamlining and reorganization." The communist army's cut of "one million," which began in 1985, is divided into two stages in 2 years. The first stage is this year's (1986) focus on reducing the establishment, streamlining the logistics system and putting the "people's armed forces departments" under local jurisdiction. One of the chief projects is the reform of the academy system, namely, the merger of the three high-level command academies, to achieve the purpose of streamlining.

In addition, because the result of the communist army's large-scale reduction is bound to affect its normal combat strength, the communist army has proposed the practice of "making up the insufficiency in quantity by an elevation in quality": "First, gradually improve weapons and equipment to narrow as fast

as possible the gap with the armed forces of developed countries in weapons and equipment; second, grasp the advantageous moment to strengthen cadre education and training, so as to train a large number of talented persons who meet the needs of armed forces modernization." (6) The communist army's establishment of the "National Defense University" was an important move taken to strengthen the education and training of high-level cadres.

C. Change the backward educational features in the communist army's high-level command academies. In the present stage, there exist certain serious defects in the communist army's high-level command academies. Xiao Ke, former commandant of the communist army's "Military Academy," has pointed out:

1. The level of scientific and cultural knowledge of instructors and students is too low, and they have insufficient specialized knowledge.
2. The reform of the academy system has not been integrated with the cadre work system, creating blindness in transfers and withdrawals, and, coupled with the fact that it does not have the restraints of strict systems (like the cadre active service system, separation and retirement system, reserve duty system, and professional examination system), unhealthy tendencies have run rampant.
3. Education in the academies is influenced by the "leftist" ideology, and there widely exists the mistaken tendency to despise science and culture and to despise intellectuals. It is stressed that all work is for the purpose of changing the students' ideology, and importance is not attached to transmitting knowledge. The result is that the knowledge of cadres who graduate from high-level command academies is comparatively unitary and they understand too few things.
4. The starting point of the academies' development of talents is too low. The study content is too narrow, and no consideration is given to the armed forces' development. The courses offered by the academies basically follow the content of the fifties and sixties, and they do not meet the demand for the knowledge needed by modern high-level command cadres. (7)

Because there is a very big gap between the education in the communist army's high-level command academies and the demands on it for building the armed forces, the communist army has made use of the opportunity provided by this merger of the three academies "to set forth a series of reform measures with regard to the objects of training, goals of training, and educational content," (8) with the intention of changing the backward features in the education of the armed forces' high-level command academies.

D. Strengthen the educational system of the communist army's academies. The educational system of the communist army's academies follows the practices of the fifties, and the command academies are divided into three levels--primary, middle, and high. The primary-level command academies are responsible for training company- and platoon-level cadres; the middle-level command academies are responsible for training regiment- and battalion-level cadres; and the high-level command academies are responsible for training army- and division-level cadres. The academy training system has become an important base of

reference for the present stage of the communist army's personnel system. But at present there exist many defects in the communist army's academy educational system. For example: the division of work in the training tasks of the primary-, middle-, and high-level command academies is not sufficiently clear, and there exist in the training content the problems of duplication and "general coarseness" from top to bottom. In enrollment, length of schooling, and courses offered, there are many things that are not as rational as they could be. (9) Therefore, how to perfect the academy educational system is still a matter of top priority for the communist army.

In establishing the "National Defense University," with regard to the objects of training and the educational content, the Chinese communists stress that they will "concentrate on training high-level command cadres and staff personnel and on training high-level theoretical research personnel, who will mainly study the high-level training content of strategy and campaigns." (10) The purpose is, by differentiating the basic training and the intermediate advanced training in the primary- and middle-level academies, to further strengthen the communist army's academy educational system.

E. Promote coordination between the armed forces and the local departments. In the past the communist army was always considered to be a closed organization. In recent years, because of the effect of the changes in the mainland society, there has widely appeared in the communist army the idea that "being a soldier means incurring losses." It has been necessary to placate the armymen by having the local "governments" formulate various methods of giving preferential treatment to their family members. In addition, since the communist army began its "streamlining and reorganization," several hundreds of thousands of cadres have been placed in the localities, imposing a heavy burden on them. Besides this, the communist army's "General Political Department" recently issued a "notice" calling on the communist army to give all-out support to local construction during the period of the "Seventh Five-Year" Plan. Because the opportunities for the army and the localities to come into contact and cause friction are increasing day by day, in order to let the leading cadres of the two sides have more time and opportunity to understand relevant problems, the Chinese communists have added to the "National Defense University" a "National Defense Research System." It will bring together the leading cadres of the army and the localities to study and jointly discuss relevant questions of "national defense strategy" in order to improve the capability of the cadres of the two sides for judging these questions.

F. Raise the standards of academic research in the academies. For a long time the communist army's military theory has revolved around the set pattern of "Mao Zedong Military Thought." After the communist army, in June 1985, publicly announced a change in the "strategic idea," it called for armywide research on new military theory. The "National Defense University" was made the key unit in research on questions of "armed forces building," political theory, and strategy, and it was made responsible for spurring on the research of armed forces academies. Therefore, the communist army's "National Defense University" added a research department and a research institute that

specialize in military theory, and stressed that the university was "both a teaching center and a scientific research unit."

G. Develop teachers for the communist army's academies. In the past the instructors at the communist army's command academies mainly came from the units. Because their quality was inferior, for a long time in academy education there existed the phenomenon of "elementary cycles." To resolve the difficulty of inadequate teachers, the communist army has selected from the newly established "National Defense University," which has fairly good teaching quality, teachers to form a specialized organization for training academy teachers in order to provide qualified teachers for the academies.

#### IV. Policy and Organization

The Chinese communists' policy in establishing the "National Defense University" stresses "with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought as the guide, with the strategic policy of active defense as the basis, and with teaching and scientific research as the means, to establish a combined arms command university of a comprehensive, research, and open nature oriented to modernization, oriented to the world, and oriented to the future in order to develop high-level cadres and theoretical research talents who meet the demands of national defense modernization and of modern warfare." (12) The "three orientations" mean "in being oriented to modernization, insisting on making practical problems the center, and studying and doing research on the problems of modernization in a focused way; in being oriented to the world, doing research on the world's economic, political, and military affairs, and also putting particular stress on making exchanges with foreign armies and doing research on the operational ideas of foreign armies; and in being oriented to the future, not only doing research on how to fight a war now, but also inquiring about hope to fight a war 10 or 20 years from now, and not only satisfying the current needs of the units but even more developing military command talents for the next century." (13)

The "National Defense University" has a commandant, political commissar, and deputy commandant. It is divided, according to professional requirements, into five departments--headquarters, political, logistics, training, and scientific research:

Headquarters: It has a chief of staff and a deputy chief of staff. Based on the directives of the university's "party committee," the senior officers, and the "Central Military Commission," it is responsible for drawing up the annual, term, monthly, special project, and wartime work plans, and is also responsible for inspecting the progress made on these plans.

Political Department: It has a director and a deputy director. Based on the directives of the university's "party committee" and "political commissar" and the "Central Military Commission," it manages the "party's" affairs of the "entire university," and organizes political education for the students and staff of the university. The Political Department has also set up a publishing house--the "National Defense University Publishing House."

Logistics Department: It has a director and a deputy director. Based on the directives of the university's "party committee," the senior officers, and the "Central Military Commission," it does the logistics support work for the entire university.

Training Department: It has a dean and assistant dean. It is responsible for enrolling and training each class of students at the "National Defense University." Under the Training Department are various teaching and research sections and educational organizations.

Scientific Research Department: It has a director and a deputy director. It is responsible for research on military academic theories. Under the Scientific Research Department are those research institutes--the Strategic Research Institute, the Marxism Research Institute, and the Military Construction Research Institute.

The principal leading personnel of the communist army's "National Defense University" are:

Commandant: Zhang Zhen [1728 7201]. Born in 1907, he studied in Soviet Russia. He came up through the communist army's "three field" system. He has been chief of staff of the "Third Field Army," deputy commandant and commandant of the "Nanjing Military College," deputy commander of the "Wuhan Military Region," deputy director and director of the "General Logistics Department," and deputy chief of staff of the "General Staff Department."

Political commissar: Li Desheng [2621 1795 3922]. Born in 1916, he is from Huang'an County in Hubei Province. He came up through the communist army's "two field" system. He has been commander of the 12th Army, commander of the "Anhui Provincial Military District," director of the "General Political Department," and commander of the "Shenyang Military Region."

Deputy commandant: Xu Fangchun [1776 5364 2504]. He is the former commandant of the communist army's "Logistics Academy."

Training Department dean: Xu Zhongxiang [1776 6988 4382].

Scientific Research Department director: Huang Yuzhang [7806 3768 4545].

## V. Objects of Enrollment

The Chinese communists' "National Defense University" now offers five classes, the periods of schooling of which vary from 6 months to 2 years. Student enrollment will begin in the summer vacation time of this year (1986), and studies will begin on 1 September.

A. Basic faculty: this is an extension of the basic faculties of the communist army's three high-level command academies. It enrolls military, political, and logistics cadres at the division (brigade) level, and develops army-post leading cadres, army logistics department directors, as well as high-level staff personnel of organizations at the level of "large military regions" and above (the basic faculties of the communist army's former

military, political, and logistics academies enrolled division-level command cadres who had graduated from middle-level command academies and a small number of outstanding regiment-level command cadres, and turn them into high-level military, political, and logistics command cadres and high-level staff personnel).

For the communist army's cadres who are selected to study in the training classes of the basic faculty of the "National Defense University," it is stipulated that they must have undergone focused development by tempering in work at the basic level or have been scheduled to join a higher-level leading group; that those with full division (brigade) posts be under 45 years old and that those at deputy division (brigade) posts be under 42-- for outstanding persons 1 or 2 years of the age requirement may be relaxed; that they be recommended by their organization; and that they take the standard examination. There are three examination subjects: foundations of Marxism, composition, and either military or logistics affairs. Those with the best scores will be selected.

B. Advanced studies faculty: It is similar in nature to the past short-term "cadre pipeline training classes" in the communist army's three high-level command academies. For example, there was the "university graduate cadre pipeline-training class" in 1984 in the former "Military Academy" which had the aim of improving and adding to the cadres' knowledge.

The advanced studies faculty of the communist army's "National Defense University" enrolls military, political, and logistics command cadres at the full division (brigade) post level and above, and leading cadres of provincial military districts and of academies. It stipulates that the age must be 1 or 2 years lower than that of the maximum active service limit. With the examination and approval of this unit, in accordance with its jurisdiction over the appointment and dismissal of cadres, the candidate need not take the academy standard examination for entering the university.

C. National defense research faculty." This is a newly established faculty in the communist army's "National Defense University." It enrolls cadres at the provincial- and army-level and above of the communist army and the localities, and cadres at the department- and bureau-level of the ministries and commissions of the Chinese communists' "State Council." The first notice on enrolling students was jointly issued by the CPC's "Central Organization Work Department" and the communist army's "General Political Department" with distribution quotas to provinces, cities, and the Chinese communists' "State Council," to all general headquarters and service arms of the communist army, to the "National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission," and to some "large military regions."

D. Graduate school: The graduate school of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" is the second graduate school established by the communist army (the first is the graduate school of the "National Defense Science and Technology University"). It enrolls cadres at the level of university graduate or higher, and cadres who have graduated from middle- or high-level command academies (or who have an equivalent record of formal schooling), and who have completed a year or more in their present posts in the Communist

army. It develops them into command personnel, theoretical research personnel, and instructors with master's or doctor's degrees.

The graduate school of the communist army's "National Defense University" now has two groups of students. After the CPC approved in June 1985 the course list for completion of their doctor's or master's degrees in "military science," the first group were graduate students who obtained their master's degrees from the communist army's former "Military Academy" and or "Political Academy."

In September 1985, the communist army's former "Military Academy" restored "graduate student classes in military science," and enrolled 22 graduates in 3 disciplines and 8 specialities: military thought (including the formation and development of Mao Zedong military thought, Mao Zedong's thought on people's war and the strategy of active defense, and the Soviet army's military strategy thought); military campaign studies (including campaigns of mobile warfare, campaigns of positional warfare, and campaigns of resisting landings from the sea); and the history of warfare (including the history of the wars fought by the "People's Liberation Army" and the history of World War II). The former "Political Academy" gave three specialized courses--Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economies, and CPC history--for a total of 26 graduate students who had been enrolled.

E. Teacher training classes: They enroll graduating students of the communist army's command academies and technical colleges. In the first term, priority will be given to training instructors for the "National Defense University," after which teachers will be trained in succession for the communist army's middle-level command academies.

Students of the first teacher training class in the communist army's "National Defense University" are 81 selected students (average age 23) in 56 specialities from the 15 engineering and technical colleges of the "National Defense Science and Technology University" who have already graduated with bachelor's degrees in science and engineering. After each one is trained in the communist army's primary- and middle-level command schools for half a year (September last year to August this year), they will continue their studies for 2 years in the teacher training class of the "National Defense University." They will take seven required courses, including military thought, strategic studies campaign studies, and military pedagogy, and 22 elective courses including military economics, military talent studies, and operations research. Then, after they go into the units in acting posts, after 1989 they will formally become teachers in the communist army's "National Defense University."

## VI. Educational Facilities

The teaching facilities of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" are divided into two main parts:

A. Library: The "library" was established on the basis of expanding the "books and reference materials collection" of the communist army's former "Military Academy." It is now the biggest library in the communist army's

academies, with a building area of 8,060 square meters. It is divided into three levels, and in it are a lecture hall, a catalogue room, a foreign visitor reception room, a computer room, as well as 20 large and small reading rooms, including one for microfilmed reference materials and one for video room reference materials, for the army and its service arms, with specially provided books and reference materials for students to borrow and read.

B. Teaching buildings: In the university's buildings are a film projection room, a large-screen television room, an electrical sandtable room, a computer audio-visual aids room, and a computer-assisted "room for two-sided training exercises by senior officers and commanders." In addition, in the teaching buildings of the "National Defense University" are set up different teaching and research sections by discipline, such as: a foreign army teaching and research section, a campaign teaching and research section, an all-service arm teaching and research section, a political work teaching and research section, a political economies teaching and research section, a Marxism-Leninism teaching and research section, and so forth. Based on the content of their different disciplines, students attend classes in their assigned teaching and research sections.

## VII. Teaching Reform

On 18 December 1985, when receiving reporters of the "XINHUA News Agency," Zhang Zhen, commandant, and Li Desheng, political commissar of the "National Defense University," revealed: The "National Defense University" is preparing to make in the future the following principal teaching reforms:

A. Composite classes. It will put into practice the teaching forms of setting up faculties for composite classes composed of military, political, and logistics cadres, thereby changing the past method in which faculties were set up to train military, political, and logistics cadres separately, in order to meet the demands on the knowledge structure of armed forces high-level command cadres imposed by modernized warfare.

B. Reform of teaching content. Stress will be put on abolishing the cramming method of teaching and on adopting the "the teaching method in which study on one's own is primary, so that studying on one's own and coaching are integrated with on-the-spot observation and study, and teaching by full-time instructors is integrated with teaching by specialist scholars engaged outside the university." With regard to marking and examinations, with the writing of theses and their defense made primary, stress will be put on examining the students' actual ability to apply theoretical knowledge and to solve problems.

D. Strengthening of Scientific Research. Stress will be put on making the "National Defense University" "both a teaching and research center and a scientific research center."

E. Putting the "open door" into practice both internally and externally. Leaders of armies and specialist scholars of foreign countries will be invited to lecture at the "National Defense University," thus starting an academic interchange inside and outside the "country." Also, in a planned manner,

cadres, teachers, research personnel, and students will be selected to go abroad to observe and study and to lecture.

Various exchange activities have been started to "open the door" internally and externally, including:

1. The Strategic Research Institute of the Scientific Research Department has invited Xue Mouhong [5641 6180 3163], an expert on international issues in the Chinese communists' "Ministry of Foreign Affairs," and Zhang Jingyi [1728 7234 1837], assistant researcher of the American Affairs Institute in the "Chinese Academy of Sciences" and special researcher for London's International Strategic Research Institute and America's Rand Corporation, to be special advisers for the research institute. It has also engaged scholars and experts to be researchers. They will do extensive research on global or regional strategic issues, national defense policy and military strategy, the strategies of the principal military blocs and alliances, as well as the important branches of learning related to strategy, namely, schools of military theory, methodology for research on strategy, military cybernetics, and military futurology. (14)
2. A center in the communist army's Beijing area for coordination among the armed forces academies provides help in teachers and teaching facilities. In addition, in the middle part of February this year (1986), it was discovered that 11 instructors from the "National Defense University's" research department, foreign army research center, campaign research section, and all-service arm teaching and research section had been transferred to act as campaign theory teaching instructors in helping a certain "group army" of the "Shenyang Military Region" initiate the study of campaign theory. At the same time, the university has provided this "group army" with urgently needed teaching materials, study and reference materials, and data on training exercises. (15)
3. A certain teaching and research section of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" and a certain research institute of the "General Staff Department" have cooperatively developed a "tactical command advisory special system," which uses computers to simulate a commander's decision-making ability, and is an instrument for helping commanders with automated decision-making advice. (16)

## VIII. Analytic Opinions

A. Zhang Zhen, commandant of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University," studied in Soviet Russia in the thirties, and he is one of a small number of veteran cadres now in the communist army who have taken regularized military training in Soviet Russia. His appointment as commandant of the "National Defense University" means that the educational focus of this university from now on will be theoretical research on coping with the Soviet army's strategy and tactics.

The appointment of Li Desheng, who was for a long time commander of the Chinese communists' "Shenyang Military Region" and is also considered to be one of those who benefitted from the "Cultural Revolution," to be political commissar of the "National Defense University," besides being a promotion to a

position in the academy stemming from his individual prestige as "king of the Northeast," was also in order to have a pacifying effect on him as an individual and on the anti-Deng forces.

B. In name, the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" is a new-type high-level command academy, but viewed from its organization, personnel enrollment, and educational facilities, it still "follows the past in most aspects and blazes new trails in few aspects."

C. The Chinese communists' "National Defense University" stresses that its purpose is to "develop high-level cadres and theoretical research talents to meet the demands of national defense modernization and modern warfare." But at a "National Defense University political work conference," Yu Qiuli [0151 4428 6844], director of the Chinese communists' "General Political Department," stressed: "It is particularly important that students of the National Defense University first of all be of very high political quality, which includes a staunch party spirit and a good understanding of Marxist-Leninist theories and political standards ...." This shows that the final educational goal of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" is still to improve the political quality of its students, and train them to uphold the idea that the "party" leads the "armed forces" and that the "party" leads the "state" in order to lay the foundation for the Chinese communists' party dictatorship.

D. Although the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" has begun to enroll personnel, it still faces the following difficult problems:

1. The leading cadres lack experience in running schools. Because for a long time the communist army has not attached importance to the education in its academies, the several newly appointed leaders of its "National Defense University" lack experience in running modern schools, a fact which poses an obstacle to reform measures in its academies that will be hard to pass over. Therefore, for one month's time beginning on 1 April this year (1986), the "National Defense University" specially ran a "concentrated training class on the science of leadership in the National Defense University," attended by the commandant, political commissar, and 62 leading cadres from all departments and teaching research sections in the university's organization and in the student corps. They listened to lectures on modern management methods by experts from the "National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission," the "Academy of Military Science," the "Academy of Social Sciences," the "Talent Studies Research Society," and the "Science and Technology Training Center," (17) "making up deficiencies before the battle." However, under the circumstances in which the leading cadres at all levels lack the necessary level of education, lack the concepts of modern management, and have ingrained traditional, backward concepts, it is very hard for them to accept new concepts. Therefore, in the short term it will be extremely difficult to change the backward features in running schools.

2. It is hard to integrate "training" with "utilization." Although the communist army has time and again preached that the system of academy education must be integrated with cadre assignments, at present the communist army is influenced by the "leftist" ideology. In the promotion of cadres,

academy training is still not stressed, and there is a high degree of blindness. In addition, there are no strict rules and regulations, and after cadres graduate from academies, they are often transferred to civilian work or separated from the service. This being the case, isn't it rather worth doubting whether, after the reform of the communist army's high-level command academy system, graduating students of academies will get important posts in the communist army?

3. Lack of teachers and equipment. The teachers and the equipment of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" come from the former military, political and logistics academies, and not only is the quality of the instructors uneven but also the teaching facilities are extremely old. For this reason, the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" is temporarily running "teacher training classes," the funds of some academies have been increased. However, the instructors who have undergone this crash training have only raised their educational level a very little, and they completely lack work and teaching experience. Also, their number is extremely limited. For a time it will be difficult to solve the problem of inadequate teachers in the communist army's academies. Also, the educational funds for the communist army's academies have always been inadequate, the newly increased funds can only solve some problems, and it will be difficult to discard obsolete educational facilities in a comprehensive fashion.

#### Notes

- (1) 15 January 1986, Chinese communists' XINHUA News Agency, Beijing dispatch.
- (2) 7 September 1982, Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY--LAD], "Fifteenth in Series of Talks on the History of Military Schools--Great Change With Birth of Nanjing Military Academy."
- (3) 9 May 1984, LAD, "Make Long-Range Plans, Build First-Rate High-Level Command Schools."
- (4) 27 July 1985, LAD, "Reform of Army's Academy System About To Start."
- (5) 15 January 1986, XINHUA News Agency, Beijing dispatch.
- (6) Ibid (5)
- (7) 22 February 1983, LAD, "Be Farsighted in Investing in Talented Persons."
- (8) 9 January 1986, LAD, page 2, "Major Change in History of Our Army's Education."
- (9) Ibid (8)
- (10) Ibid (8)
- (11) 18 December 1985, XINHUA News Agency, Beijing dispatch.

- (12) Ibid (11)
- (13) Ibid (8)
- (14) 3 June 1985, LAD, page 1, "Military Academy Begins Strategic Research."
- (15) 4 March 1986, LAD, page 1, "Draw Support From Academy Forces, Organize Campaign Training."
- (16) 14 March 1986, LAD, page 1, "First Military Experts Systems Research Class in Our Army Run in Beijing."
- (17) 1 May 1986, LAD, page 2, "Become Better Educated, Change Concepts."

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

## MILITIA INVOLVEMENT IN XICHANG SATELLITE LAUNCH

Chengdu XI'NAN MINBING [SOUTHWEST MILITIA] in Chinese No 4, 10 Apr 86 pp 16-17

[Article by Ren Youyin [0117 2589 6892] and Ceng Xiangrong [2582 4382 2837]: "Bodyguards Under the Silver Lines"]

[Text] The night of 1 February 1986, at China's Xichang Satellite Launch Center.

A steel gantry frame over 60 meters high stood majestically in the middle of the launching site. A huge silvery white carrier rocket stood tall and upright on the launch pad close to the gantry frame. An earth-synchronous communications satellite fitted on top of the rocket was like a fairy maiden floating in the air who was about to leave the embrace of her earth mother and fly into the vast, boundless starry space.

"Thirty-minute preparation!"

"Fifteen-minute preparation!"

The commander's words of command through silver lines at the main launch area were transmitted to the capital Beijing, to the monitoring center, and to the aerial survey fleet awaiting orders on the Pacific Ocean....

"Final one-minute preparation!" The automatic ignition procedure began.

"59,58,57..." Second by second the twinkling green numbers on the inverse number timer progressively decreased.

"Ignition!" Following a tremendous "boom" like the sound of muffled thunder, the earth trembled slightly. From the rocket's tail spurted a dazzling, reddish orange flame. The slender, pretty rocket body left the ground, rose steeply, and headed for outer space....

At this moment it was 2036 hours Beijing time.

"The satellite launch was successful!" Vehicle after vehicle and group after group of Yi nationality compatriots wearing bright colored clothes came in an endless stream. They cheered and jumped, immersed in incomparable jubilation

and happiness. At this moment, not fearing the wind, snow, and severe cold, the militia were fighting day and night in jungles and high mountains, painstakingly guarding the communication lines!

In the midwinter season, braving wind and snow, we followed the communication lines into Sichuan and interviewed the militia guarding the lines. Here we only select from the countless endless flow of stories glittering with the brilliance of communist ideology a few sparkling sprays for our dear readers.

#### Clearing Thorny Undergrowth To Open Routes

"Tingaling..." A short telephone ring. Twelve carriers in two maintenance stations in Xinshi Town and a certain county simultaneously warned: the pilot frequency has disappeared.

"Make immediate rush-repairs and get the line through as fast as possible." A responsible person of the leading group for the satellite launch communications system gave the rush-repair order.

The line rush-repair fendui riding in trucks rushed to the spot. The fighters saw two electric poles more than 200 meters from the road, exactly like two sentries full of energy. They stood on two hilltops about 150 meters apart. However, in the more than 200 meters from the road to the electric poles, there were bushes and tangled grass as high as a man, and it was impossible to pass through them. One fighter, planting his feet behind him, parted the thorny undergrowth with his two hands and explored the way forward. He had not taken two steps when his hands and face were pricked until blood flowed by the thorny undergrowth and he had to turn back.

What was to be done? The fighters were burning with impatience.

"Liberation Army comrades, please take a rest. I'll be back in a moment with militiamen who will open a path for you. Chen Zhiming [7115 1807 2494], director of the People's Armed Forces Department of Longshui Township, who had come with the rush-repair fendui, seeing the situation, immediately rushed back to the township to organize militiamen to open a route.

Unfortunately, the weather let them down and rain fell at this time. Director Chen, led more than 10 militiamen to brave wind and rain on a muddy path, all the way running as if they were skating, as they rushed to the scene. The militiamen took turns in wielding choppers to hack away the rank grass and thorny undergrowth. Under their hands, a path that a single man could get through was continuously extended forward. In less than an hour, this "sidewalk" emerged under the choppers of the militiamen. The line rush-repair fighters climbed up the electric poles to make checks and repairs. In only 30 minutes they fixed the breakdown and restored normal communications and liaison on this line. When the command post commended this rush-repair fendui, the fighters said in unison: "It was thanks to the vigorous support of the militia!"

## Making Every Minute and Second Count in Battling a Landslide

On the morning of 1 February, a Beijing-brand military vehicle, puffing and blowing, slowly climbed a winding precipitous road. When it came to Mapan Mountain in Pingshan County, it suddenly stopped with a snapping sound. Riding in the vehicle were four fighters of a certain communications head station of the military region whose job was to check lines. Unexpectedly, on reaching this point the vehicle had encountered a big landslide, and the earth and rocks of all shapes and sizes that had collapsed amounted to as much as more than 100 cubic meters. A huge rock about five or six cubic meters in size, like a mighty lion, lay across the road blocking their way.

Just when the fighters were at their wit's end, Tian Chaoqing [3944 3390 3237], director of the Longhua District People's Armed Forces Department, leading 23 militiamen, who were carrying steel drill rods, hoes, shovels, and other tools, rushed to the scene.

Director Tian divided his men into several teams. Some moved rocks and some shoveled earth. In less than 3 hours, the small rocks and earth that had piled up on the road were pushed away and only the huge rock remained. Director Tian had everybody grasp the steel rods and heave together, but no matter how they pried and bent here and there, this "stumbling block" remained absolutely still. What to do? A militiaman suggested that they blow it up with explosives. Looking at the communication lines in the air, Director Tian thought: If we blow it up, this would of course be quick, but the flying rocks would cut the electric lines. Wouldn't this be a case of outsmarting ourselves? Sticking his hands in his pockets, Director Tian paced up and down the road, pondering a question in his mind: If we found some stone masons to come and break up the rock, although it would take a little time, the lines would not be endangered. Wouldn't this be a case of satisfying both sides! "Yes, this is the way to do it!" He found eight militiamen who could do masonry. Braving whirling snow and facing winds of force six or seven, they worked with a clatter. The militiamen made concerted efforts and worked in unity, finally completing the task of removing the landslide at 4 pm. When the line patrol unit's vehicle passed over the landslide section, they were happy smiles on the faces of Director Tian and the militiaman.

## Abandoning the Small Family To Take Care of the Big "Family"

If you are given the choice of using money to build a "cozy nest" or of taking a rugged path full of thorny undergrowth, which way should you go? If your family's needs and the motherland's call simultaneously beckon to you, to which side should you add the standard weights for an ideal balance? With their practical actions the militiamen safeguarding communication lines have answered these questions.

Wu Zhiqian [0702 1807 0356], commander of the militia company of Xiaomiao Township in Xichang City, is the head of a transport specialized household. Every day he makes at least 70 or 80 yuan. Before the turn of the year, quite a number of family units signed transport contracts with him and were waiting for him to transport goods. His wife had borne a child 2 days ago, and he was much needed at home! Early in the morning on 30 January, Wu Zhiqian was

preparing to drive his truck to the supply and marketing department to haul for it special purchases for the Spring Festival when he ran into the director of the township's people's armed forces department. He immediately jumped down from his truck and asked the director if anything was going on. With a smile the director said: "A satellite is about to be put up, and the militia of our township has the mission of safeguarding the communication lines. But I know your situation, and you don't have to take part."

"What is this? I'm the commander of the 1st Company. How can I miss this critical moment?" The director was unable to dissuade him and in the end had to agree. Wu Zhiqian's wife had just given birth to a child, and there would be no one at home to take care of them. His wife would not let him go, Wu Zhiqian worked with her patiently, and asked a neighbor to look after his home while he took part in the battle to safeguard the lines. Every day, just as the sky was turning light, leading the militiamen and shouldering tools for safeguarding the lines, he tramped over hill and dale, and not until all the lines on the more than 200 electric poles that the company was responsible for were painstakingly inspected did he return to base. He also helped the Liberation Army to chip ice off the lines and check and debug the circuits.

On the night that the satellite was launched, when the rocket rose into the sky and sped high above, Wu Zhiqian and the militiamen were at the side of electric poles in a remote mountain gorge guarding them and shedding tears of excitement. How much rich meaning there was in these tears!

Actually, persons like Wu Zhiqian and stories like his are too numerous to mention. According to incomplete statistics, in this large force that safeguards communication lines, there were more than 100 militiamen who took the initiative to overcome their family difficulties, put individual interests in the back of their minds, postponed wedding dates, and would not stay in the hospital when they were sick in order to consciously contribute to safeguarding the communication lines so as to insure that the satellite was put up safely.

#### The Aspirations of "Outside-Establishment" Militia Who Safeguarded the Communication Lines

In this battle to safeguard communication lines, the militia who did not have the mission of safeguarding the lines still, like the masses who supported the Red Army, with selfless feelings and in various kinds and types. poured their own aspirations into one cause--insuring unimpeded communications and liaison so as to add another Chinese star to the firmament.

Here we cite an example picked at random.

Xiao Hua [5135 5478] and Lin Li [2651 7787], workers and militia members of the farm family road maintenance squad in Changhe Township, Leibo County, were a newly married couple on their "honeymoon." For this newly married couple, the "honeymoon" was so happy and sweet! However, the militia of the eighties are able to correctly handle the relationship between love, marriage, and family on the one hand and their work on the other hand.

On 19 January, a certain communications fendui of the Chengdu Military Region, braving wind, snow, and severe cold, at a time of absolute dark came here to pitch a camp and safeguard communication lines. All around them was brightly white snow; in front there was no village and in back there was no farm. In this vast sea of snow there was only one low house--a residence of the workers of the road maintenance squad. The fighters were all perfectly clear about the situation. Everybody quickly erected their tent beside the road maintenance squad.

"Liberation Army comrades, you came from far away to safeguard communication lines and are very tired. It is very cold here. You stay in our house." Xiao Hua and Lin Li were afraid that if these 18- and 19-year-old fighters passed a night in a tent with a temperature about a dozen degrees below zero, they would be chilled, so they went inside the tent and spoke to the fighters.

Seeing a "double happiness" paper-cut pasted to a window as a decoration, and seeing that they were a newly married couple, the fighters would not agree.

Blushing, Xiao Hua and Lin Li insisted that the seven fighters go into the new house, and the two of them stayed in the fighters' tent.

After this, every day Xiao Hua and Lin Li helped the fighters to boil water, rinse vegetables, wash rice, and prepare meals. Sometimes when they had a day off they went up the mountains with the fighters to inspect lines and chip ice. Their words and deeds deeply touched the fighters.

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TAIWAN

## POLITICAL UNDERCURRENTS ANALYZED, CLASH TERMED INEVITABLE

Taipei TZULI WANPAO in Chinese 21 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Yan Wenshuan [7346 2429 7025]: "Ways to Diffuse a Political Time Bomb in Taiwan"]

[Text] Beneath the superficial tranquility in the domestic political scene runs a surging and turbulent undercurrent.

A wave of party organizing is raging outside the party. A meeting held in Taipei to explain the formulation of a constitution for a party drew tens of thousands of people, a show of public enthusiasm that has greatly encouraged non-party personalities. There is a rising clamor for party organizing outside the party and a minority of radical elements are even jockeying for position in the forefront of the movement. Within the ruling party itself, people are watching the escalation in mass street activities closely and anxiously. Voices calling for drastic action have become louder and louder, and the conservative forces are gaining the upper hand.

## Clash Becomes Inevitable as Confrontation Sharpens

If this situation continues, non-party radical elements are bound to upgrade their street activities, accompanied by a corresponding stiffening in the position of the conservative camp. The two feed on each other, probably making a clash inevitable. If by any chance a clash does occur, society must pay a heavy price: Political stability will be severely undermined, economic prosperity will be affected, investors will be even more reluctant to invest, and the capital outflow will worsen. Even more important, will public confidence be shaken? How can international pressures be overcome? All this must be considered.

Although the present political situation resembles the conditions in 1968 before the Kaoshiung incident, there are objective differences between the two both domestically and internationally. As far as the nature and intensity of political activities outside the party are concerned, there are obviously more politically active elements now than before. They are scattered all over, from north to south. Their modes of operations are also more extreme than previously. This is particularly true for a handful of radical elements who have an utterly reckless attitude and dash about madly. The impending

election is an added incentive to all groups and factions to pull out all stops to impress the public and win their applause and support with rhetoric. After the split in the non-party camp, non-party personalities have gone to even greater lengths to "distance themselves from the ruling party as much as possible." The result is a bewildering display of bizarre gimmicks. After the effort to establish the non-party Kongcheng Hui ran into difficulties, the clamor for a party emerged in response to the times.

#### The Idea of Party Organizing Gains Support

It should be noted that although many people do not approve of and are even fed up with the verbal excesses of some non-party figures, they tend to support the notion of organizing a party and constitutional rule. Take, for instance, the second meeting held in Taipei to explain the organization of a party. Tens of thousands of people turned up. The response was so enthusiastic that it cannot be ignored. The joint function organized by the Kongcheng Hui and Pianlian Hui at the playground of Chongshan National Primary School can be described as the largest political gathering after the election of delegates to the political opinion expression meeting. Above the playground the hallways of three stories of classrooms all overflowed with people. Some were merely curious and some were there for fun. Some were the core supporters of non-party organizations. But there were also large numbers of people who supported the demand for a party, as borne out by the strong response at the meeting and the fact that it lasted almost 4 hours. While occasional murmurs were heard in 1968 for the "organization of a party without being called a party," it is only now that non-party figures clearly articulate their demand. This too differentiates the present from the past.

Apart from domestic differences, external conditions are also dissimilar. Although some foreigners did express their concern back then, some Americans are much more actively concerned and involved today. For instance, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives has adopted a resolution aimed at promoting democracy in Taiwan. Democratic Congressmen have set up the "Society for the Promotion of Democracy in Taiwan." Other Americans too have shown increasing interest in the domestic political situation, as indicated by the recent visit to Taiwan by the chairman of the international affairs council of the Democratic Party, [Ai Yu Te]. At the same time, the Public Affairs Association of Taiwanese in the United States and the Association of Taiwan Professors in North America have also become more active and influential. The same cannot be said for 1968. Certainly a nation should do what it thinks is best for it; it should not be dictated to by other countries. But given its over-dependence on the United States, Taiwan is in a delicate situation and its actions are inevitably constrained by others. For this reason, it must weigh every major policy most carefully to avoid any negative side effects.

#### Avoiding Unrest Is Top Priority

Because of the fast approaching election at year's end, the party organizing movement unleashed by non-party personalities is like a runaway horse probably beyond the control of anybody. We all expect the handful of radicals to do their best to jump the gun by forming a party first. At a time when some non-

party people are calling for the establishment of parties, the ruling party has declared time and again that it cannot remain indifferent in the face of all the talk about "seizing power" and "forming a government." It is only natural that the conservative wing in the party, which favors taking a harder line, is on the upswing.

Taiwan cannot afford any disturbances. Everybody recognizes that. Despite its extraordinary economic achievements and national prosperity, the Chinese Communist threat on the other side of the waters still remains. Any disturbance will completely undo the economic miracle wrought by the whole people. Accordingly, how we prevent the clash between the party and non-party forces from escalating and avoid a possible conflict is unquestionably the most important issue facing us.

At this pivotal juncture, people inside and outside the party should exercise their utmost wisdom and patience. Non-party people, why not practice self-restraint, lower the temperature of the mass movement, and cool the confrontation? On the other hand, it is not easy for the ruling party to impose a total ban on the party organizing movement. Why not make a virtue of necessity and allow the non-party Kongcheng Hui to be formally established, or let it be registered under certain conditions and amend the charter for private organizations during the period of political tutelage as soon as possible? Alternatively, the ruling party can tacitly recognize its existence and permit it to operate without actually recognizing its legality. As for party organizing, it is the trend of the times and cannot be reversed. Although the situation is such that the ruling party cannot allow parties right now, the central policy-making unit may pass a resolution instructing the 12-member central study group currently deliberating the ban on parties to consider drawing up a party law and submit a draft by a certain date so that the legislative process can be completed. In so doing, the ruling party can show its sincerity and its commitment to party politics. The resultant law can be the legal basis for the registration of political parties. If the minority of radical elements are still impatient to form a party before the legislative process is completed, the government agency concerned can then deal with them as provided by law, with less severe side effects than otherwise.

#### Political Undercurrent Is Worrisome

Will the present political undercurrent disappear, leaving not a trace? Or will it whip up a wave of disturbance or even a stormy sea that spells total disaster? No one knows. How can it not but make us sick with worry?

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END